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THE
FRENCH REVOLUTIONS.

HISTORY
OF THE
FRENCH REVOLUTIONS

FROM 1789 TO 1852.

[T. W. Redhead]

VOLUME III

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HISTORY

OF THE

FRENCH REVOLUTIONS.

CHAPTER XVII.

THE SECOND RESTORATION OF THE BOURBONS—ITS INCIDENTS, ITS TREASONS, ITS TRAGEDIES, AND ITS RETRIBUTIONS—1815.

By his flight to Paris after the irretrievable discomfiture of his army, Napoleon betrayed at once a pusillanimity and a selfishness which justly forfeited him the confidence and attachment of the French people. It had surely been more noble in him to remain steadfast with his troops, to rally them yet behind the Sambre, to extricate and join to his own broken forces the detached army under Grouchy, and to make a last glorious stand against the invasion and conquest of France, or to lay down his life in the heroic adventure. But the days of mere heroism were passed for Napoleon; when he could still hope to fight, not alone for a throne, but for a predominant empire, he displayed all those great qualities which mark the puissant and indomitable warrior; but now the fire of his character paled under the pressure of accumulated difficulties, and, having scarcely longer a part of his own to play, he gave himself as a buffet to the merciless kicks of adverse fortune. So he abandoned his defeated soldiers and the field of war, to be overtred by a victorious enemy, intent chiefly to uphold his supremacy in the government, which he knew would be seriously jeopardised by the unfortunate issue of his aggressive campaign. He was conscious that his claim to a throne he had won and made good by arms, must be gravely perilled if not extinguished by an overwhelming reverse on his favourite theatre of action; and yet he thought that his presence in the capital might still avail to crush incipient opposition, and prolong his tenure of power, were it only from a sense of the desperate predicament in which the country stood, exposed in its very existence

to the vengeance of domineering conquerors, and out of which his stalwart arm alone might be expected haply to extricate it.

Accommodating himself, however, to his altered condition, and as if to mark his conviction that he had ceased to be the monarch, and could aspire henceforth only to be the first citizen, and peradventure the defender of France, he turned aside from the regal palace of the Tuileries, and alighted at the more humble mansion of the Elysée Bourbon. In this, doubtless, he acted discreetly, although it was an artifice which served neither to cajole nor to conciliate. The majority of the Chamber of Representatives, which had already proved so suspicious and even inimical towards him, was not rendered more indulgent or placable by his calamity. Lafayette, the hero of '89, had emerged from the retreat in which he had secluded himself for twenty years, and reappeared on the scene when he heard again the welcome tocsin of revolution sounding; he was a member of the Chamber, and took a prominent part in this critical conjuncture. To him and the other leaders of the popular or republican party, it seemed possible to found a completely new state of things, to discard alike the Bonaparteian and the Bourbon dynasties, to resuscitate the national sovereignty, and to educe therefrom institutions fitted to insure at once the future tranquillity and the liberties of the French people. To enable these views to be realised, it was first necessary that the existing legislature should arrogate supreme power, both constituent and executive, and that Napoleon should be induced quietly to abdicate. Accordingly Lafayette, in the sitting of the 21st June, after delivering an energetic harangue, introduced five distinct propositions: *1st*, To proclaim the independence of the country menaced; *2dly*, To declare the sittings of the Chambers permanent, and any attempt to dissolve them an act of treason; *3dly*, To declare that the troops of the line had deserved well of the country; *4thly*, To call out the National Guard as the best preservative of the national independence and of the national legislature; *5thly*, To pronounce the ministers responsible to the Chambers, and calling upon them for reports relative to the affairs of their administrations. These propositions, so hostile to Napoleon, and even subversive of his authority, were voted by acclamation, and a committee of five members was nominated to confer with a similar committee of the peers and the ministers upon the means of saving the country. This committee included Lafayette himself, Lanjuinais, Dupont de l'Eure, Grenier, and Lacoste, all decidedly opposed to the continuance of Napoleon on the throne. But before these measures were finally adopted, Prince Lucien, who had generously forgotten all his wrongs, and almost alone strenuously laboured to uphold the sinking cause of his brother, ventured to address the Assembly, protesting against its abandonment of the Emperor, and warning it that it would

expose itself before the tribunal of nations to the most severe judgment for inconstancy and levity. 'What language is this we hear?' Lafayette exclaimed in reply. 'Dare any one accuse France of fickleness or want of fidelity with regard to Napoleon? She has only been too faithful to him, as the bones of her sons on the sands of Egypt, on the frozen deserts of Russia, on fifty battle-fields, can testify. In a space of ten years, three millions of Frenchmen have perished for a man who would still keep Europe in a state of convulsion. We have done enough for him. Our duty now is to save the country.' Such the abjuring and expurgatory words of the sturdy patriot, who certainly in his own person was deeply indebted to Napoleon, since to him he owed his liberation from the lawless thralldom of the most ruthless of modern despots, Francis I. of Austria, who, unhappily for the sake of example, escaped into the tomb ere the retribution of his perfidies and misdeeds overtook his family and his tribe.

The situation of the parties thus dividing or contesting power in France at this period was very peculiar, although by no means singular in her recent history. Napoleon sat upon the throne by virtue of a military revolt, which had been crushed upon the plains of Waterloo, and thereby the basis of his sovereignty undermined; the Chambers had an existence only through his fiat, and their members had taken a solemn oath of fealty to him not three weeks ago, in the open sight of Heaven, notwithstanding which, they claimed to be the sole undoubted organs and representatives of the French nation. In this capacity, then, they also claimed to have the absolute disposal of the government, even to the dethronement of him who had given them birth, and to whom they had sworn fidelity. It is true that the obligation of an oath had grown marvellously weak in France during the Revolution, and had almost ceased to be regarded as of any force, for never, surely, had a nation exhibited so monstrous a succession of public perjuries as her rulers and assemblies since 1789; but the assumption of a sovereign prerogative by the Chambers was otherwise wholly out of place and unwarranted. Moreover it was preposterous, inasmuch as they had no means of enforcing their determinations. Two alternatives only were open to them: either they must defend the country from foreign conquest, of which there was no chance save through the redoubtable arm of the great Napoleon; or they must repudiate their only defender, and by negotiations with the Allies, obtain from them such terms as they desired and contemplated. Upon this latter course it was they resolved to act; and accordingly, after a conference had been held between the committees and the ministers, a formal motion was made in the Chamber of Representatives, that a deputation should wait upon the Emperor and demand his immediate abdication. This deputation, consisting of five persons, and headed by

Lafayette, was ushered into the presence of Napoleon on the evening of the 21st, he having around him his ministers, his councillors of state, and several delegates from the assembly of peers. In this grave council, sitting over the dissolution of a colossal empire, the question of what should be done in the existing situation of France was solemnly discussed; but in truth it had been already resolved by the usurping Chamber, since Lafayette had announced, amid vehement acclamations, that if the abdication were delayed, even for an hour, he would initiate a motion of dethronement. Under such a threat, the deliberations could not be considered free; yet they were opened by the Emperor in firm and touching accents, such as befitted the disastrous aspect of affairs, and in which he sought to rouse the patriotism and stimulate the devotedness of all Frenchmen. He asked for men, and promised, with adequate reinforcements, to repel the invading enemy, offering to lead the army of deliverance as a simple soldier. Lafayette coldly replied that resistance would but aggravate the calamities of the country—that the Allies at the outset had insisted upon a particular condition, which they were not likely to forego after gaining a decisive victory—that one measure alone could avert a desolating conflict, and the nature of that measure must spontaneously occur to the great and generous mind of the Emperor. Maret, Duke of Bassano, so long minister of foreign affairs under the Empire, and who was warmly attached to the person of Napoleon, rebuked Lafayette for holding such language, and recommended, on the contrary, severe measures against the Royalists, coupled with an appeal to the old revolutionary fervour. As he gave hot utterance to these sentiments, he was stopped by a riotous disapprobation, which broke forth despite the overawing majesty of imperial sadness. Yet Carnot himself, the steadfast republican, he who alone had refused to bend the knee in the dazzling era of 1805, and recorded his vote against the constitution of the Empire, interposed to give his voice in favour of defensive hostilities continued under the leadership of Napoleon. In a pathetic oration, he urged that the first paramount object was to save the independence of the country, after which internal differences might be satisfactorily composed; but to attain this end, the services of the greatest captain of the age were essential. In the midst, Regnault de St Jean d'Angely interrupted him: 'We are wasting time,' rudely spoke that old Jacobin commissioner: 'we must come to a decision; the hour is nearly elapsed.' 'What hour?' inquired the Emperor, turning abruptly to the speaker. 'The hour which the Representatives have agreed to wait for your majesty's abdication,' replied the froward Regnault. This was too much for Napoleon's temper to endure. 'The Chamber,' he exclaimed, 'is composed of Jacobins, of madmen, who wish power and disorder. I should have de-

nounced them to the nation, and chased them from their places. Dethrone me!—they would not dare!’ But after a moment’s pause, he addressed Fouché, who stood near him, saying, ‘But it is better: let them know they shall be satisfied; but not now—to-morrow!’ With these words he retired. Fouché and the Representatives interpreted them to express an intention of abdicating, and when this was conveyed to the Chamber, still sitting anxiously awaiting the decision of the council, the members exulted in vehement apostrophes, as if they had achieved the most signal of victories. ‘The Emperor has abdicated!’ they shouted. ‘We will have neither Bonapartes nor Bourbons! *Vive la nation!*’ In these vociferations they indulged until they exhausted their ardour, and then they separated for the night.

It has been well remarked by a historian, not otherwise distinguished for solidity of judgment, or even coolness of observation,* that Napoleon lacked boldness and resolution when not in the midst of soldiers; and in corroboration of his assertion instances the 18th Brumaire, when the firmness of Lucien saved him from the consequences of a failure, and this present crisis of his fate, when he timidly shrank from adopting the courageous counsel of that same Lucien. It is undoubted that during this eventful day of the 21st of June he exhibited an indecision and vacillation which provoked Lucien into the remark, that the smoke of Mont St Jean had confused his brain. When he left the army to take care of itself, and hastened to Paris after his defeat, his conduct, so reprehensible in a military point of view, could have but one interpretation, apart from his fear of being taken prisoner, which was not a probable event—namely, the motive of preventing the Chambers from passing any hostile measures, or, if they proved refractory, of dissolving them and seizing absolutely upon the government. This, indeed, was so well understood, that the popular leaders instantly took the alarm, and procured the adoption of the five resolutions proposed by Lafayette, the first of which declared the independence of the country to be menaced, and the second denounced as a traitor any one who should attempt to dissolve the legislature. These measures were levelled directly at Napoleon, and they appear to have completely disconcerted him. In vain Lucien, Labédoyère, Flahault, and others of his more eager partisans, urged him strenuously not to hesitate a moment, but at once to dissolve the Chambers by force, as the only resource left him for the maintenance of his power. Before taking so decisive and perilous a step, however, he consulted other and more discreet counsellors, particularly Caulaincourt and Carnot, who dissuaded him from risking an enterprise which would almost surely end in his irretrievable ruin, since it was

* Montgaillard, *Hist. de France depuis Louis XVI.*, tome viii. p. 231.

certain that the National Guards would muster in defence of the legislature. Thus distracted by opposing counsels, he allowed the precious time to elapse, until the project, if it were ever feasible, which is extremely doubtful, had become utterly impracticable; and in the conflict he must needs succumb, too happy if, by the sacrifice of himself, he could avail to save his dynasty by the substitution of his son. This was the last hope to which he could cling, and the wily Fouché encouraged it in him, the more readily to extort his act of abdication. Accordingly, after a night passed in anxiety and agitation, during which Napoleon paced up and down his room, at one time vowing he would grind these churls of Representatives to the dust, at another threatening to end his life, since he had no further object on earth, he agreed to the ultimatum of his abdication, clogged with the condition in favour of his son. The important document was signed on the morning of the 22d, only the fourth day after the battle of Waterloo, and was presented by Fouché to the Chamber of Representatives at its matutinal sitting of nine o'clock. It was thus couched:—

‘In commencing the war to maintain the national independence, I counted on the union of all efforts, of all inclinations, and of all the national authorities. I had good reason to hope for success, and I braved all the declarations of the powers against me.

‘Circumstances appear to me changed. I offer myself as a sacrifice to the hatred of the enemies of France. May they prove sincere in their declarations, and have really directed their hostility only against my person! My political life is terminated, and I proclaim my son, under the title of Napoleon II., Emperor of the French.

‘The present ministers will, provisionally, form the council of government. The interest which I feel in my son induces me to invite the Chambers to organise without delay the regency by a law.

‘Let all unite for the public safety and the maintenance of the national independence.
(Signed) NAPOLEON.’

The Representatives received this missive with unequivocal marks of satisfaction, and nominated a deputation with Lanjuinais, president of the Chamber, at its head, to wait upon the late Emperor, and thank him, in the name of France, for his patriotic sacrifice; but not an expression, not a symptom, was given of adherence to the new government of Napoleon II. The deputation was received by the Emperor with all the ceremony and pomp of a monarch, surrounded by his principal officers of state; but he evinced evident displeasure when the president concluded his address without any allusion to the succession of

his son. In his answer he again repeated his exhortations in favour of unanimity and the preparation of means of defence, and concluded with an emphatic announcement that his abdication was conditional, and comprehended the interests of his son. Lanjuinais replied, with profound respect, that upon the subject of the future government of France he had no instructions from the Chamber. Irritated at this illusory rejoinder, Napoleon turned to his brother Lucien, who stood by his side, and said to him, 'This is just what I expected—the knaves!' Again addressing himself to Lanjuinais, he reiterated his declaration in yet harsher tones. 'Tell the Chamber from me,' he said, 'that I have abdicated solely in favour of my son, and that I commend him to its protection.' So saying, he abruptly closed the audience, and the deputation retired to report his words to the Assembly of Representatives.

If the second branch of the legislature, however, were thus cold and adverse towards the imperial dynasty, it was judged that the Chamber of Peers, holding nominations directly from the Emperor, might be more readily influenced to declare in its behalf, and thus give an example of great moral weight. In consequence, after that body had assembled, and heard the act of abdication read, Lucien, Joseph, Labédoyere, Lavalette, and others of the party, entered the hall with plumed hats and in court dresses, when Lucien, advancing into the midst, cried out in a loud voice, 'The Emperor is politically dead. Long live the Emperor Napoleon the Second!' But this theatrical display failed in its effect, and few responses were given to the exclamation. Indeed several voices were raised in opposition; and the Count de Pontecoulant, in particular, asked by what right Lucien, an Italian prince,* and an alien, presumed to name a sovereign to the French people. This singular question roused to the fullest pitch the ire of the whole imperial party. Lucien replied with great warmth that he was a Frenchman by his sentiments and by virtue of the laws. Labédoyere started to his feet in violent agitation. 'The resignation of the Emperor is null,' he cried, 'unless his son be instantly proclaimed his successor. And who are they who resist it? They who have worshipped at the footstool of their sovereign when in prosperity, who basely fly from him in adversity, and who are already preparing to receive the yoke of foreigners.' Loud murmurs interrupted the speaker, but they only roused him to increased fury. With passionate gesticulations, and in stentorian tones, he continued: 'Yes, I say, if you refuse to acknowledge the imperial prince, I for my part declare that Napoleon must again draw his sword. At the head of the brave Frenchmen who have bled in his cause we will rally round

* During his residence at Rome, Lucien had accepted from the Pope a patent granting him the title of Prince of Canino.

him; and wo to base deserters who are meditating fresh treasons! I demand that they be impeached, their names given to infamy, their houses razed, their families all proscribed and exiled. We will tolerate no traitors amongst us. Napoleon, in resigning his power to save the nation, has done his duty; but the nation is not worthy of him, since he has been a second time compelled to abdicate.' Indignant exclamations broke from the majority of the Assembly, and drowned the voice of the infuriated orator. Yet again his accents rose above the clamour. 'Is it then decided,' he shouted, 'that no voice is ever to be heard in this Chamber but that of baseness? What other has been heard for the last ten years?' These last words excited a general tumult, and the veteran Massena exclaimed, 'Do you think you are in the mess-room of the Guards? You forget yourself.' Still excited, but abashed at the general outcry against him, Labédoyere rushed furiously from the hall.

After this extraordinary scene had ceased, one equally stormy and yet more surprising ensued. It was the peculiarity of Napoleon, in the utter selfishness and hard egotism of his character, to shift all blame from himself on the occasion of any reverse by charging it on others; whether justly or not, was indifferent to him. Thus in his bulletin of the battle of Waterloo, after allowing the full extent of the disaster, he ascribed the unfortunate issue of the campaign to three untoward circumstances wholly independent of him. *1st*, The desertion of General Bourmont, an old Breton leader, who went over to the enemy on the night before the French army crossed the Sambre, and thus undoubtedly gave Blücher a few hours' earlier warning of the intended operation than he could have otherwise obtained; * *2dly*, The lack of promptitude and the incapacity of Marshal Ney in his attack on Quatre-Bras; *3dly*, The stupidity or treachery of Marshal Grouchy in pursuing his movement against the Prussians instead of hastening to Waterloo, although that marshal acted on his own reiterated instructions, and thus remained exposed to an unjust calumny, by the force of which he was malevolently persecuted for the rest of his life. At the imputation thrown out against Ney, it was natural that that illustrious warrior should be deeply incensed. He likewise had forsaken the army, and followed Napoleon to Paris, boiling with rage and vexation. He attended the Chamber at this memorable sitting; and when Davout, who filled the post of minister of war, appeared in the tribune, and presented a report on the state of the army, which he

* Blücher was a very rough, but honourable man, and he took no pains to conceal the disgust with which he regarded Bourmont. To reconcile him, some of his officers pointed to the white cockade which Bourmont wore in his hat, as an evidence of his correct principles. 'It is of little consequence,' exclaimed the honest veteran, 'what a man sticks in his hat for a mark—a scoundrel remains a scoundrel.' A blunt, but nevertheless a very true and philosophical remark.

described as concentrated around Laon to the number of 60,000 men, all in complete order under the command of Marshal Grouchy, with 200 pieces of cannon, Ney suddenly started forward, and with a wild gesture cried out, 'It is false! It is false! It is a mere attempt to deceive you. One who saw the disastrous day of the 18th knows that we cannot have 60,000 soldiers collected together or even under arms. Grouchy cannot have under him 20,000, or at the utmost 25,000 men. The enemy is already at Nivelles 80,000 strong, and he may, if he pleases, be at Paris in six days. There is nothing to stop him. That is the true state of the case. There is no safety for France but in instant propositions for peace.' Carnot and Flahault here interposed, and denied the correctness of Ney's assertions. But he repeated them in still more sinister terms, and at length came out with a declaration which occasioned intense excitement. 'Yes, I say it again,' he exclaimed; 'the only course left you is to negotiate—in a word, you must recall the Bourbons.' Furious shouts assailed him for this unwelcome intimation, and Lavalette, in particular, betrayed an indignation which sought vent in the most injurious reproaches. 'The bravest of the brave,' as Napoleon had delighted to designate him, was, however, not to be cowed by brawlers in a senate-house; and he observed with an expression of scorn, 'I speak not for my own interest; I am not one of those who look to their own interest in everything. What should I gain by the restoration of Louis except being shot for desertion? I only speak the truth for the sake of my country.' Astonishment was depicted in every countenance at this astounding revelation of Ney's; and the partisans of the imperial dynasty, whose object it was to infuse confidence as to the means of resistance against invasion, were struck dumb by such an avowal from so unquestionable an authority on a military subject as the indomitable Duke of Elchingen, the renowned Prince de la Moskowa, covered with the laurels of countless victories won by his unyielding valour.

Thus it happened that even the Peers eluded any express recognition of Napoleon II., and they also concurred with the Representatives in disregarding another condition of the Emperor's act of abdication, relative to the existing ministers, by the joint appointment of a Provisional Government consisting of five persons. These were Carnot, Fouché, Caulaincourt, Quinette, and Grenier, Fouché speedily contriving to get himself nominated as president. This latter personage had been, ever since the return of Napoleon to Paris, immersed in a variety of the deepest intrigues. First with the Emperor himself, whom he cajoled with the prospect of being intrusted with a dictatorship, and afterwards with that of securing the succession of his son if he himself abdicated. Again with the liberal party in the Chamber

of Representatives, whose counsels he in secret directed, and their course of action in a great measure controlled. Again with Louis XVIII. and Wellington, to whom he from the first had turned as the real masters of the crisis, foreseeing justly that a second restoration was inevitable. In this persuasion he laboured undoubtedly for the good of France, since he directed his efforts to the attainment of two important objects: 1st, That the Restoration should be effected as peaceably as possible, and without being attended by proscriptions; 2dly, That the Charter of 1814 should be integrally maintained, and even additional franchises be granted. Whilst he thus negotiated with the court at Ghent, he ostensibly favoured a negotiation of a totally different kind, pursued by commissioners delegated to treat with Alexander and the other allied sovereigns by no less a power than the Chamber of Representatives. This negotiation was undertaken with the view of procuring the consent of those sovereigns to the abrogation of both the Bonaparte and the Bourbon dynasties, and to the installation of a new monarch on the throne of France, who, owing his election to the national voice, would possess and give more certain guarantees of future stability and tranquillity. The commissioners intrusted with this delicate negotiation were Lafayette, Benjamin Constant, and M. de Laforest, an old diplomatist favourably known at the Prussian court; and they had instructions to represent that if France were ready to repudiate Napoleon, she was equally determined never to receive again the elder Bourbons. However improbable success in such a mission might seem, it was neither ill-timed nor altogether desperate. Alexander was in a very bad humour both with England and with Louis XVIII., from the discovery of their secret treaty with Austria in February against him and Prussia, which, for the purpose of exciting discord, Napoleon had not failed immediately to communicate to him upon his resumption of power. He had, moreover, a jealousy of Wellington's influence over Louis, which was already very marked, and was apparently becoming daily stronger. On these several grounds he was well disposed, if not absolutely to set aside the Bourbon dynasty, at least to frighten its members with such a possibility, and teach them to regard him as a principal arbiter of their fate.

The commissioners repaired in the first instance to the headquarters of Barclay de Tolly at Kayzerslautern, whence they were directed to Haguenau, where the allied sovereigns had already arrived. Here conferences were opened between them and representatives of the four great powers: Sir Charles Stewart, brother of Lord Castlereagh, appearing for England; General Walmoden for Austria; Count Capo d'Istria for Russia; and General Knessebeck for Prussia. The English negotiator took

upon himself the principal part in these conferences, and he strictly limited them to the subject of an armistice, refusing to enter upon any question as to the future government of France. He indeed started a doubt whether commissioners delegated from an assembly convoked by *Bonaparte* (for thus early did these dastards begin to designate the Emperor Napoleon) ought to be recognised at all; whereupon Lafayette observed with bitterness that he was surprised an Englishman should be ignorant that a representative body does not derive its legitimacy from the power which convokes it, but from the people which nominates it. The force of this reproof was sensibly felt by Sir Charles Stewart, since the case of the existing French Chambers was nearly analogous to that of the English Convention of 1688, and he could only stammer in confusion that he doubted whether the people had really nominated its so-called Representatives: a remark simply puerile and insolent, of which Lafayette scorned to take any notice. Addressing themselves to the Congress generally, the French envoys declared emphatically that no system was possible which embraced the elder branch of the Bourbons; that they never could excite any national sympathy; and that, in six months, the whole work would have to be done over again. Capo d'Istria, himself a Corsican, and Walmoden, entertained this point, and were prepared to discuss it, but Stewart abruptly rose and said—'Gentlemen, if you treat as to the government of France, you must do so without England, for I have to inform you that I am without powers;' and so the conference was broken up. It was, however, renewed on the following day, when the commissioners made a distinct proposition that they would accept from the Allies as monarch of France any individual agreeable to them—as, for instance, the king of Saxony, the Prince of Orange, or the Duke of Orleans, in whose favour it was known Alexander had dropped some significant expressions. This gave Stewart an opportunity to retort the rebuff he had experienced the preceding day. 'Gentlemen,' said he, 'how does it happen that you profess to be perfectly free as to the choice of a sovereign, when I hold in my hand a copy of the "*Moniteur*" containing a proclamation from your government announcing that Napoleon II. is at the head of the Empire?' The question was embarrassing doubtless, but the commissioners replied that such an arrangement was purely provisional, and in no degree restrained the full exercise of their powers. After a further brief colloquy, in which it was intimated to the French envoys that the surrender of Napoleon's person to the Allies would be a preliminary and indispensable condition even to the granting of an armistice, the Congress separated, nor did the rapid course of events permit it again to assemble.

The battle of Waterloo had been fought on the 18th June, and

on the second day thereafter the allied British and Prussian army had crossed in great force the French frontier. The fortress of Cambray was surprised on the evening of the 24th; and that of Peronne, surnamed *La Pucelle*, from its never having been captured, was taken by storm on the afternoon of the 26th. Soult and Grouchy had succeeded in rallying some 30,000 men around Laon, but they did not attempt to oppose the progress of the invaders, and accordingly fell back on Paris. Wellington and Blucher moved their troops with great rapidity; the former, as usual with him, exacting the strictest discipline from his soldiers, whereas the latter, mindful of the French excesses in Prussia, placed no curb on the violence or rapacity of his men. On the 29th the British vanguard crossed the Oise, and on the day following occupied the Forest of Bondy, only a few leagues from the capital. Blucher at the same time crossed the Seine at St Germain, and established himself at Plessis and St Cloud, placing a strong rearguard at Versailles. From this latter position General Excelmans made a vigorous effort to oust him, but without success. As Paris was wholly undefended on the left of the Seine, it was clear that a successful battle alone could save it from an immediate capitulation. Yet the Prussians had put themselves in a very exposed situation, divided by the Seine from the British, and with Paris intervening between them and their communications; insomuch that Napoleon instantly discerned their danger, and urgently pressed the Provisional Government to give him the command of the army, as generalissimo under his son, undertaking, by a sudden attack, to destroy them. He had been removed by an express order of the government, issued shortly after its installation, from Paris to the Château of Malmaison, in which the Empress Josephine had resided after her divorce. The motive of this removal was the apprehension of an outbreak in his favour by the populace of the faubourgs and the federates, many of whom still lingered in the metropolis, which might entail the revolt of the army, and draw in its train most disastrous consequences. The proposal he now made was at once and peremptorily refused by the Provisional Government, on the ground that the engagements already taken with the foreign powers precluded its acceptance. Fouché, indeed, repudiated it with grossness. 'Does he think us fools!' he said: 'he is certainly laughing at us.' It is now a subject of poignant regret with the French that the experiment was not tried, since they hold that Napoleon could even then have saved the country from conquest, and they would have preferred the risk of his re-establishing a despotism to the terrible sacrifices and humiliations subsequently imposed upon it. Even by writers hostile to the Emperor, and who are loud in their complaints of his tyranny, this regret is expressed, and he has been reproached

for not having put himself at the head of the army at once, instead of making useless offers to do so, which he was quite sure would be declined. Thus his sincerity or his fortitude is called in question, and it is in reference to this very topic that Madame de Staël makes the following admirable reflections:—‘There is a firmness of mind which springs from the conscience alone; and Bonaparte, instead of having that determination independent of events, had a sort of superstitious faith in fortune, which prevented him from acting without it. From the time that he felt misfortune had come over him, he ceased to struggle; from the day on which his destiny was marred, he no longer concerned himself about that of France.’

In her concluding sentence, the illustrious authoress has overstepped the exactness of truth; for at no time can it be said that Napoleon ceased to concern himself about the destiny of France, although his own aggrandisement was constantly his main object, and in the last extremity he betrayed an unworthy solicitude for his mere personal safety. This it was proposed to provide for by arranging his escape to the United States of America; and the Provisional Government, in its anxiety to facilitate it, not only placed two frigates at his disposition, but also applied to the Duke of Wellington for a passport to insure his unmolested navigation of the Atlantic. This passport the Duke declined to give, since he of course had no power to grant a safe conduct across the seas; and much to the annoyance of the government, the Emperor still delayed his departure, seeking to postpone it under different pretexts, still indulging the forlorn-hope that events might yet take a more favourable turn, and he be spared the necessity of a cruel exile. In its dread of any rash attempt on his part, the government placed General Beker in strict surveillance over him whilst at Malmaison, with instructions to restrain his movements if necessary, and, above all, to hasten his journey to Rochefort, at which port it was intended he should embark. This General Beker was personally disagreeable to Napoleon, but nevertheless he received him with calmness and complacency, albeit recognising in him the character of a keeper. When Beker, however, became urgent with him to depart, he alleged it was necessary to make the final arrangements with the government itself; and he despatched General Flahault to Paris for the purpose. Flahault first encountered Davout, who still retained the portfolio of the minister of war; and but that similar outbursts by others of Napoleon’s marshals are sufficiently authenticated, it might well be doubted that the following language was used by one who owed so much to the fallen Emperor as the Duke of Auerstadt and the Prince of Eckmühl. Its vulgarity is at least on a level with its hideousness. ‘So, this Bonaparte of yours,’ he exclaimed, ‘is not willing to go; but it is necessary that we should get rid of him:

his presence fetters and annoys us; he injures the success of our negotiations! If he expects we will take him back, he is deceived; we will have nothing more to do with him. Tell him from me that he must go, and that if he does not set off at once, I will have him arrested—I will arrest him myself!’ Inflamed with indignation, Flahault replied: ‘I would never have believed, Monsieur le Maréchal, that a man who, eight days ago, was at the feet of Napoleon, could to-day hold such language. I respect myself too much, I respect too profoundly the person and misfortune of the Emperor, to repeat to him your words: go to him yourself; you are better suited for the mission than I am. From this moment I give in my resignation. I can no longer serve under your orders without disgracing my epaulettes.’ The language of Davout, nevertheless, was reported to Napoleon, who heard it with dignity and composure. ‘Let him come,’ he said: ‘I am ready, if he wishes it, to bare my throat to him.’ At length, on the 2d of July, he bade a melancholy adieu to Malmaison, to Paris, to France itself; and, accompanied by numerous attendants, resolved to share his fortunes whatever they might be; and by a long retinue of carriages containing all his movable wealth, he set out on his dreary journey, and with a heavy heart proceeded to his port of embarkation on the far western coast.

From the first intelligence of the disaster of Waterloo, Fouché had opened a communication with Louis XVIII., which he had hitherto maintained in secrecy, and unknown to his colleagues in the government; but now that the allied army actually encircled Paris, it became necessary for the government itself to open a negotiation with its commanders. The apathy that was manifested in this emergency of France by those warriors whose names were celebrated through the world for their vast prowess, is one of the most striking characteristics of the era. It was in vain that Carnot, with his truly indomitable spirit, upheld the expediency and possibility of resistance; there was not a general to head the defence, there was not a marshal who could challenge the confidence of the dispirited soldiers! The companions in arms of the great Napoleon had sunk to be sluggards, indifferent now to the call of honour, and intent only to enjoy in repose the wealth they had amassed in their oppressive dominations. Massena, the tenacious and the unconquerable, the puissant defender of Genoa, was the first to declare that the capital could not be defended; that he, no novice in sieges, would not undertake to hold it for an hour. Davout, the valiant and the robust, he who at Auerstadt had stood single-handed against the overpowering host of the vapouring Prussians, was minister of war, and preferred the ease of office to the toils of warfare. Ney, the heroic, the impetuous, the invulnerable, was too deeply mortified and incensed at the reproaches cast upon his conduct, too convinced

perhaps of the hopelessness of a contest, to become the champion of an ungrateful dynasty. Soult, the vigorous and the hardy, felt no incitement to incur responsibilities and dangers when no prospect of plunder tempted to the risk. Macdonald, the intrepid and the noble-hearted, he who had clung to Napoleon in adversity, although the object of his frowns in prosperity, he who had emulated on the reeking field of Wagram the chivalrous exploits of the doughty Lannes on the terrible day of Essling, was reposing from his fatigues, and could not be stirred from the agreeable slumbers of retirement. Marmont, Mortier, Victor, Angereau, all stalwart and undaunted, had taken too decisive a part against Napoleon in the previous year; and by their prompt abnegation of the glorious tricolour for the blanched flag of the Bourbons, had too irretrievably lost the attachment of the soldiers to offer themselves, or be intrusted, as combatants in a national struggle. Grouchy, who was reviled as a traitor, seemed alone animated by the smallest zeal, or exhibited any desire to perform his duty as a military commander. No commentary could be more complete upon the immeasurable superiority of Napoleon over all his contemporaries than this inability to supply his place even as a leader of armies; and in so dismal a strait the government could do little better than surrender at discretion.

Nevertheless, the Chamber of Representatives gave no symptom of confessing the necessity of the case, but, on the contrary, indulged in continual declamations of defiance, and in vehement denunciations of the Bourbons. The government likewise ostensibly supported the cause of Napoleon II., and nominated an imposing array of commissioners to represent it at the headquarters of the allied army. These were Andreossy, Valence, Boissy d'Anglas, Flaugergues, and Labesnardiere. As Blucher made no pretensions to the character of a diplomatist, his ideas, in fact, not extending beyond those of a rough and uneducated soldier, the burthen of the negotiation fell to the share of Wellington, who united with his military talents an accomplished and cultivated mind. The commissioners, who professed to treat exclusively of an armistice, touched, notwithstanding, upon the future government of France, the stability of which they maintained to be incompatible with the restoration of the Bourbons; whereas a permanent and beneficial system might be constructed upon the basis of a national monarch, such as Napoleon II., for example. To this Wellington replied that he could only speak as an individual, but in his opinion Europe could not enjoy security or France tranquillity under the reign of Napoleon II.; that in such an event the allied powers would necessarily demand immense guarantees by the cessions of territory; that Louis XVIII. alone combined the advantages which would obviate the necessity of such guarantees. The commissioners observed in

answer, that as the family of the Bourbons appeared an essential condition to the re-establishment of peace and order in Europe, there was another prince of that family, the Duke of Orleans, who would be more acceptable to France, and offer greater security for the maintenance of her liberties. This was the second time the Duke of Orleans had been proposed for the throne; although that personage himself, who subsequently evinced so eager an ambition to wear a crown, had publicly declared that he would then accept it only to restore it to its legitimate owner. Wellington adverted to this objection, which seemed to him decisive; and when Boissy d'Anglas reminded him of the innumerable faults committed by the Bourbons during their short year of trial, and of their evident incapacity to comprehend or to fall in with the new order of ideas, he confessed that he was himself conscious of these truths, but that Louis XVIII. had offered guarantees which would remove such dangers for the future; and he put into the hands of the commissioners two proclamations from the king, dated respectively from Cateau-Cambresis and Cambray, in which he announced his return to his kingdom, his intention of adhering faithfully to the charter of 1814, and of further developing constitutional institutions, an amnesty for all political offences, save as against those directly implicated in the criminal attempt of the usurper, and finally, an anxious desire to repair any errors into which his government might have been betrayed, and to promote in all things the welfare and prosperity of his subjects. With these proclamations the commissioners retired, in order to seek from their government the fresh instructions which the positive declarations of Wellington had rendered indispensable.

In compliance with the joint representations of Wellington, of Count Pozzo di Borgo, the Russian minister, and of Fouché, strengthened by a royalist cabal under the auspices of the Count d'Artois, the king had been at length reluctantly induced to discard M. de Blacas, whose influence had proved so pernicious to his interests, and to replace him by Talleyrand, who, from the circumstances of character, career, and capacity, was so much better adapted to advise him in the difficulties of his position. This was not a substitution agreeable to the Emperor Alexander, who had conceived a great aversion for Talleyrand from his opposition to him in the Congress of Vienna; and it might have operated with other causes in provoking him to declare against the second Restoration, to which the Allies, by their manifesto against Napoleon, were not at all bound, but that he was swayed by Pozzo di Borgo, to whose acute intellect he paid an involuntary deference, and yet more by that superstitious feeling which had gradually overmastered him, and which led him to regard himself as an instrument of Providence in punishing the iniquities of Napoleon,

and in vindicating the cause of right throughout the world. He was thus reconciled to arrangements, the conclusion of which, without his participation, he was well-disposed to resent, and all the more readily, doubtless, because a serious proposal was made to include Pozzo di Borgo in the ministry of Louis XVIII.—an extraordinary proof of the abject condition to which France had fallen at this period, involved in the bare contemplation of a Muscovite councillor being elevated to a seat in her privy cabinet, and intrusted with a department of her internal administration. But the question of the future French government was necessarily subservient, in the meantime, to the purely military one arising from the actual investment of Paris by the British and Prussian troops; and as it had been decided that the chance of resistance was too precarious to be risked, nothing remained but to secure as advantageous a capitulation as possible. It was negotiated by Marshal Davout with the allied generals, and concluded at St Cloud on the 3d July, its principal provisions being, that the French army should evacuate Paris, and retire behind the Loire; that the gates of the city should be opened on the 6th to the conquerors; that the internal service of Paris should continue to be performed by the National Guard and the municipal gendarmerie; that all public as well as private property should be respected, except that of a warlike character, whether belonging to the government or dependent on the municipal authority, and the allied powers were not to interfere in anyway with regard to its management or application; lastly, that the inhabitants, *and in general all the individuals at that moment in the capital*, should continue to enjoy their rights and liberties without being disquieted or prosecuted in any respect relative to the functions exercised by them, or to their political conduct and opinions. As a surrender was inevitable, these conditions could not be considered otherwise than as favourable; but it is the spirit in which they are observed that imparts to articles of capitulation their real character; and in this respect the convention of St Cloud was violated by a shameful interpretation, or a lamentable disregard of faith.

On the 7th July, accordingly, in pursuance of this convention, Wellington and Blücher made their triumphal entry into the subjugated city of Paris. Within fifteen months its inhabitants had witnessed a second occupation by foreign conquerors, but this last time with far bitterer feelings of grief and humiliation than upon the first occasion. Then the Allies were hailed almost as deliverers, so violent and general was the momentary reaction against the stricken Emperor; now they seemed in reality as veritable foes, insulting over the calamities of France, and imposing upon her by the sword a hateful government. And the presence of one of them in particular added greatly to the inten-

sity of the mortification. The sight of Englishmen treading the Boulevards of Paris, with drums beating and banners streaming, was naturally the most odious possible in the eyes of Frenchmen. Not only had England been the most constant and inveterate of the enemies who had contended against the Revolution, but it was through her alone it had been finally conquered, it was upon her alone no retaliatory vengeance had been wreaked. Hereditary rivals for mastery, France and England had fought in every quarter of the globe, and in almost every encounter the former had been ultimately worsted. This was the most complete and overwhelming of her disasters, and she still owed it to the perpetual curber of her greatness. It was not surprising, therefore, that England was the most detested and abhorred of all the powers coalesced against France, and that a yearning for revenge should be religiously propagated among her people through succeeding generations. The stinging recollection of Waterloo and Trafalgar could be effaced only by the lustre of some corresponding victory; that of the occupation of Paris be drowned only in the waters of the Thames. And when the French shall reach London, as they are probably destined to do, much as they have exclaimed against the conduct of their conquerors in 1815, the spirit of prophecy is not needed to tell how ruthless will be the measure of their vengeance, how pitiless the fury of their passion, how sweeping the extent of their devastation! They at least were left a nation, and with improved institutions; but on that day, when they can gratify their lusts in the richest capital of the world, the history of their prior conquests supplies no doubt of the utter extermination they will deal on a prostrate foe, who, from position, being ever intent to preserve a safe equilibrium among the powers of continental Europe, has at all eras been arrayed against the aggressive policy of France, which has prompted her to seek in territorial aggrandisement the vainglory of an injurious supremacy.

After the capitulation of Paris was signed, Fouché threw off in a great measure the disguise he had hitherto maintained, and laboured strenuously to procure from the Chamber of Representatives a vote in favour of the restoration of Louis XVIII. He strove to accomplish this object by showing the impossibility of effecting any other settlement, and his endeavour in itself was both prudent and considerate. It was far better that the Bourbons should be reinstated on the throne by the semblance of a national invocation, than by the too palpable agency of foreign bayonets, both for the credit of France and for the greater security of her liberties and independence. If her destinies were really at the mercy of the Allies—and of this there was not a shadow of doubt—they would be less disposed to abuse the rights of conquest if a spontaneous submission were even apparently

given to a government which they esteemed the essential guarantee of future peace. But the Representatives were insensible to this obvious truth; and rejecting the sober dictates of reason, spurned the proposition with fury, and raised only the more vehemently the insensate cry of *No Bourbons! No Louis XVIII.!* A motion was indeed made that the Bourbons should be declared public enemies, which, although not carried, was received with applause. But a resolution was adopted amid tumultuous acclamation, to the effect that, in spite of the capital being occupied by foreign troops, they would continue to sit as the organs of the national will; and to this they appended a declaration, singularly inappropriate and inopportune under the circumstances, that no government which did not adopt the national colours, and guarantee the liberty of all citizens, the equality of civil and political rights, the freedom of the press and of religion, the representative system, the national consent to the levy of men and taxes, the responsibility of ministers, the irrevocability of the sales of national domains, the inviolability of all property, the abolition of tithes, of the old and new hereditary nobility, of feudality, and of the principle of confiscation, the oblivion of all political opinions and votes, the institution of the Legion of Honour, the recompenses due to officers and soldiers, the pensions to their widows, the institution of the jury, the immovability of the judges, the payment of the public debt—that any government which should fail in any of these antecedents, would not assure the tranquillity of France and Europe. So purely impotent an ebullition of revolutionary fervour was simply ridiculous, and could have no effect beyond that of incensing the Allies, and impressing them with the conviction that coercion in its severest form must be used to repress the wild and insubordinate spirit still prevalent among the French people.

On the 6th of July Fouché repaired in person to have an interview with the Duke of Wellington, and subsequently with Louis XVIII. himself, who had already arrived at St Denis. At no period of his extraordinary career did he display greater address or ability. In his conference with Wellington he completely gained him over to his views, which were no other than, in the same manner as he had been indispensable to Napoleon, so was he equally so to Louis XVIII. He represented that as his endeavours to prevail with the Chamber of Representatives had failed, and as a dangerous fermentation existed in the capital, particularly among the workmen of the faubourgs and the remaining federates, tact and caution were requisite to prevent a violent outbreak, the consequences of which might be most lamentable; that he, from his knowledge of parties, and his influence as identified with the Revolution, could be of essential service in promoting a quiet restoration of the king; that he offered himself to

effect that object, but from no personal ambition, simply from a sincere belief that he could be of inestimable advantage in the crisis. It was assuredly a startling proposition to come from a man who had been minister of police under the Directory, the Consulate, the Empire, and the Hundred Days, to be continued in the same capacity under the Restoration; yet such was the idea entertained of his paramount importance, Wellington embraced it favourably, saying to him that the idea had already occurred to him, and that he had mentioned it to Prince Talleyrand, who seemed to acquiesce in its propriety; but that it must be first submitted to the king, whom it was advisable he should himself see. He accordingly invited him to accompany him to the Château of Arnouville, in which Louis XVIII. had taken up his abode. Not at all loth to encounter his new sovereign, Fouché stepped into a carriage with the British general, and proceeded gaily on his mission. Being immediately admitted to an audience of the king, he found the way already prepared for his gracious reception, as the mind of Louis had been previously enlightened on the subject by Talleyrand, and he accordingly stopped Fouché in his explanation. 'I am not ignorant of the services you have rendered me, sir,' said Louis; 'the Duke of Wellington has concealed nothing from me; I have designed you for the ministry of police; you may still render me considerable services.' Thus did the brother of Louis XVI., when about to mount his throne, confide himself to the regicide Jacobin, who had successively betrayed every government under which he had served, and to whom would be intrusted, in a season of unparalleled effervescence, the safety of his life, his person, and his crown.

The first step of Fouché on his return to Paris was to call together his colleagues of the Provisional Government. He exposed to them frankly the result of his interview with Wellington and the king, whom he represented as animated with the best intentions towards the national liberties, and adduced his own appointment as a decisive proof of the fact. Carnot, whose stern integrity revolted at such flagrant duplicity, remarked bitterly that his continuance in office was a proof rather of his own treachery than of the real sentiments of Louis XVIII. Nevertheless the other members coincided with Fouché, stipulating only that he should return to the king, and procure from him assurances upon certain points which were deemed of material moment. These were, that the national colours should be preserved, the principle of hereditary right repudiated, an unconditional amnesty granted, and his entry into Paris take place surrounded by the National Guards alone. Fouché readily undertook this new mission; and had on the morrow, the 7th, another interview with Louis, who was supported by his prime minister Talleyrand. He read a memorial which he had composed in the interim, and in which

he strongly urged the expediency of a compliance with these demands ; but, with the exception of the last, both Louis and Talleyrand concurred in repudiating them. With regard to the tricolour, the former is reported to have said warmly, that sooner than adopt it, he would retire again to England. This expression it is denied he ever used ; and considering the falsehoods and fabrications of the French republican writers, coupled with the discreet character of Louis in his language, it is probable that the denial is correct. Failing thus in the principal objects of his embassy, Fouché at least obtained a postponement of the royal entry into Paris until the following day, when it was to be made under an escort of the National Guards, with which solitary concession he returned to confront his colleagues. These gave vent to the liveliest indignation, and Carnot proposed that they should retire with the army behind the Loire, together with the Chamber of Representatives. Fouché coolly replied that he would be a party to no such folly ; and adverting to the fact that Paris was already under military occupation, stated that the only course open to them was to dissolve the government. After much altercation, in which the epithet of traitor was freely applied to Fouché, his recommendation was nevertheless followed, and the members of the government finally separated to meet no more. Upon this dissolution being made known to the Chamber of Peers, that body at once broke up its sitting, and dispersed in silence ; but not so the Chamber of Representatives. This latter received the announcement with yells of anger, principally directed against Fouché, whose horrible treachery was the theme of violent declamation ; and despite all opposing obstacles, it was agreed, amidst uproarious vociferations, that the Chambers should meet again on the following day, and maintain its mission good as a delegation of the national sovereignty.

In the city of Paris have been enacted many strange scenes, unapproached by any that have occurred in any other city of the world ; but perhaps none so singular was ever witnessed as on the night of the 7th July. On the public squares, the boulevards, and the quays, the Prussian troops were bivouacked with their cannon, commanding the principal streets and the bridges across the Seine ; the British were encamped without the precincts in the Bois de Boulogne, the resort of gaiety and fashion in ordinary times. Companies of National Guards patrolled the streets, wearing still the prized emblem of the tricolour, whilst from innumerable windows floated white banners, and on all sides Royalists paraded with exultation the Bourbon cockade. Bands of workmen, too, perambulated the city in a state of excitement, exclaiming against treachery, and indulging in patriotic cries ; for, like the lazzaroni of Naples, they exhibited a keener distaste of foreign domination than the superior classes. Women, too, added to the

general agitation, displaying their predilections by the hues of their ribbons, and gratifying their curiosity by gazing on the uncouth and burly soldiers of the north. Amidst the whole, and hour by hour, passed with heavy tramp patrols of foreign cavalry, exchanging in guttural accents barbarous pass-words. Around the three palaces of the government and the legislature—the Tuileries, the Luxembourg, the Petit-Bourbon—and guarding all their approaches, were posted numerous sentinels, with their arms ready primed, and vigilantly barring access with levelled bayonets. On the minds of all weighed the gloom of grief and fear; for what, amidst this incongruous turmoil, these threatening portents, was to be the fate of France? What was to be her government? for although Louis XVIII. was within a stone's-throw of the capital, this question was still an uncertain problem. Rumours there were of most sinister import; and men whispered in each other's ears, with anxious faces and stealthy tones, sad tales of royalist outbreaks, of bloody collisions, of intended vengeance, of contemplated partitions. The alarm was yet increased, and apprehensions were redoubled, when in the morning the Representatives repaired to their hall, and vainly claimed admittance; they were rudely repulsed by the soldiers on guard, and driven forth with shouts of derision from the avenues by which they sought to penetrate into their sanctuary.

Under such untoward auspices did Louis XVIII. re-enter his capital on the day of the 8th July. His own mournful countenance was the exponent of the general feeling; sadness oppressed the heart, for melancholy indeed is the fortune of a monarch indebted to foreign arms for his throne. The Royalists themselves were cast down with shame, and could muster but faint cries of welcome and attachment. The silent multitude looked on the humiliating pageant with poignant emotions, and almost cursed a king who came harnessed with such a yoke. No shouts of gladness rent the air, no throbs of happiness swelled the bosom. Females indeed waved white flags from windows and balconies, but the responsive echoes were wanting which bespoke heartfelt satisfaction, and might give to the spectacle an exhilarating animation. Dull and heavy moved the procession: first came detachments of National Guards, followed by companies of the household troops, who had escorted the king to and from the frontiers; then appeared Louis XVIII. himself, seated in a carriage, since his unwieldy body and swollen legs were incapable of bestriding a horse, his deportment still expressive of dignity; around him rode seven of the imperial marshals and dukes of the Empire—Victor, Marmont, Oudinot, Macdonald, Gouvion St Cyr, Moncey, and Lefebvre: National Guards and soldiers closed the rear. Thus they passed, until through the crowded but mournful ways the Tuileries was reached, and the eldest of the exiled Bourbons again installed in the palace

of his ancestors, which had already received so many different masters, and was yet destined to receive so many more.

To the rapid march of Wellington and Blücher on Paris, and to their subsequent occupation of that city, may the second restoration of Louis XVIII. be therefore principally ascribed. By following closely in their wake, and being prepared to enter the capital almost simultaneously with them, he put an end to all machinations against him by parties in the interior, and at the same time evaded any opposition on the part of Alexander or Francis, both of whom would have seen with satisfaction a different solution of the crisis. He retook the crown as a matter of right, however unfilly vindicated it might have been, and still styled himself 'by the grace of God King of France and Navarre,' and already in the twenty-first year of his reign. Nevertheless, as the emperors of Russia and Austria had crossed the eastern frontier, and were advancing into the country at the head of armies amounting to 350,000 men, whilst another force of 100,000 Austrians and Piedmontese had invaded the south, and captured Lyons, it was necessary for him to propitiate their good-will, and particularly that of Alexander, who exercised a commanding influence over his continental allies. Accordingly, in the formation of the council of ministers, Talleyrand reproduced the idea of nominating Pozzo di Borgo to a department; and when that astute personage declined it, on the ground that he could be of greater service in his capacity of Russian ambassador, a function much more appropriate to his position, Talleyrand proposed to substitute for him the Duke de Richelieu, who, from his long administration of the government of Odessa, enjoyed in the highest degree the confidence and esteem of the Russian autocrat. The duke likewise declined the proffered honour, from his aversion to sit as a colleague in the same cabinet with two such noted revolutionists as Talleyrand and Fouché; but the proposals in themselves sufficed to flatter Alexander, and on his arrival at Paris on the 10th of July, in company with the sovereigns of Austria and Prussia, he seemed to have laid aside his animosity against the Prince of Benevento, and expressed a general acquiescence in the state of things as they stood. Consequently the first ministry of Louis XVIII. remained imperfect, and, from its heterogeneous and antagonist elements, could scarcely be other than transitory. Talleyrand was president of the council and minister of foreign affairs; Baron Pasquier minister of justice and interim-minister of the interior; Fouché minister of police, with Decazes, already a sort of royal favourite, as prefect of police, to keep a watch on his proceedings; Baron Louis minister of finance, Jaucourt of marine, and Gouvion St Cyr of war. Macdonald, Beugnot, and Molé likewise held offices, but not seats in the cabinet. Fouché and Talleyrand had acted together as colleagues both under the Directory, the Consulate, and the Empire; but

then the departments of government were isolated, and the ministers were in fact mere agents or clerks acting in subservience to the chiefs of the executive power; whereas now, under a constitutional monarchy, the ministers were to act severally and collectively, under the superior guidance of the president of the council. As was natural with two men between whom some points of resemblance existed, with numerous striking differences leading to a perpetual rivalry, they cherished a cordial detestation of each other; and no sooner was the ministry installed, than Fouché began as usual to intrigue against his leader. The Count d'Artois had returned with his royal brother, and again aspired to influence his counsels in an ultra-royalist sense. Upon him the indefatigable Fouché seized, to use him as an instrument in supplanting Talleyrand; and the more readily to gain his ear, he paid assiduous court to his favourite M. de Vitrolles, whilst upon subordinate persons around him he freely lavished the secret funds of the police. Such was the incredible perfidy of this man, so inveterate was he in the practices of duplicity, that he encouraged the infatuated prince and his coterie to clamour for an abnegation of the Charter and a return to pure monarchy as prior to 1789; and the difficulties thus thrown in the way of the government were such, that Talleyrand seriously entertained the proposal of sending D'Artois out of the kingdom as an incorrigible perturbator. He abandoned the idea only from a conviction that his absence would be productive of little good so long as the Duchess d'Angoulême remained behind; and from her, whom the Royalists positively adored as an angel miraculously preserved from the revolutionary tomb, it was well known the king would never consent to part.*

Blucher, the commander of the Prussian army, was what his countrymen delight to call him—a true-hearted German. The unutterable woes of the French domination in Germany had sunk heavily on his mind, which was untutored save in the science of warfare. Simple, rough, and energetic, he was fierce and impassioned in his temperament, gross in his pleasures, barbarian in his tastes. Left by his master, Frederick-William, unfettered in his instructions, he gave vent to all the revengeful and savage nature of his disposition, and treated the French as they had treated the Germans, with the harshness and rigour of an offended conqueror. He had kept aloof from any communication with Louis XVIII. or his court, scorning to concern

* The Duke d'Otranto was naturally regarded by all the patriotic party as an execrable scoundrel, and particularly by Carnot, with whom he had had many angry discussions in the commission of government. Upon the official notification of his appointment to be minister of police appearing, Carnot wrote to him in these words: 'Traitor, whither do you wish that I should go?' To which Fouché replied as briefly: 'Where you choose, Imbecille.' In one of their wrangles at the council-board, Fouché had openly told Carnot that he was no better than an *old wife*—an expression at which, it seems, the latter took deep umbrage.

himself about what government might be imposed on France, and intent only to avenge the wrongs and humiliations of his country. When he entered Paris, two objects presented themselves which stirred his ire especially, and prompted him to satiate his wrath. These were the triumphal Column of Austerlitz, and the magnificent Bridge of Jena, and he determined to destroy them: the first in revenge for the removal by Napoleon of the Column of Rosbach, erected in commemoration of Frederick the Great's victory over the French at that place; the second because of the name it bore, reminiscent of Prussia's day of doom. He forthwith commenced operations on the bridge by running mines under the arches, with the intention of blowing it into the air. The unhappy Louis was apprised of his design, and sent, in consternation, to beg an interview with him. Blücher appeared before the king, to whom he scarcely deigned to pay an ordinary respect. Louis addressed him, alluding to the injurious report he had heard, which he professed to disbelieve as calumnious to the character of the Prussian king, and intimated his intention to change the name of the bridge. Blücher surlily replied that his information was quite correct, and that it was his duty to destroy a monument which was an insult to his nation. Louis asked him if he would so pitifully revenge himself on mere stones; and when the Goth retorted that Napoleon had carried off the bronze horses from the Brandenburg gate at Berlin, the witty monarch rejoined: 'Well, then, pray carry off the bridge, but don't shatter it to pieces.' Being unable, however, to move the obdurate soldier from his purpose, Louis immediately wrote energetic letters to the king of Prussia and the emperor of Russia, in which he stated that if the bridge were really to be blown up, he would place himself upon it at the moment of execution. Fearing that their reply might be too late to save the bridge, he likewise made a communication to Wellington, and requested his interference to procure at least a delay of the project. But the British commander, who felt his own character compromised in so gross a violation of the capitulation, had already remonstrated with Blücher against his meditated violence; and when the latter continued his preparations in spite of him, addressed him again in very strong language, and insisted that he should at all events wait until the pleasure of the allied sovereigns was known, to whom the king had made a powerful appeal.* It is probable that this second communi-

* The strenuous endeavours of Wellington to save the Bridge of Jena are studiously concealed by the majority of French writers and historians in their accounts of the transaction, the Abbé Capefigue being about the only exception, and the wretched Montgaillard, who can write neither truth nor grammar, actually accuses him of assisting in the enterprise.—*Hist. de France*, tom. viii. p. 248. The letters of Wellington to Blücher, dated respectively the 8th and 9th of July, are both in Gurwood's collection, vol. xii. pp. 549 and 553.

cation would have had equally little effect, but on the same day, the 9th of July, a letter reached Blucher from Alexander, which induced him to abandon his horrible design. Alexander was not only of too generous a character to sanction such a proceeding, but his mind was not inflamed with so keen and blind a desire of vengeance as his allies, and he accordingly commanded Blucher in imperative terms to leave every monument in Paris untouched, threatening to make him reconstruct any he might injure at his own expense. As for the king of Prussia, he purposely abstained from returning an answer to the letter of Louis XVIII, hoping probably that in the meantime Blucher would have destroyed the bridge; and, it is said, he expressed indignation at the autocrat's unwarranted interference with his general to save it. Thus by the display of vigour on the part of a Bourbon prince, by the timely protest of a British general, and by the decisive mandate of a Russian czar, was one of the finest of Napoleon's erections preserved, and the French allowed to retain their boastful record of Teutonic slavery in the still existing Bridge of Jena.

But if the unexecuted purpose of Blucher, and perhaps that of King Frederick-William, to deface or destroy the monuments of Paris be fitted to call down reprobation, it must be confessed that the French had given more than one warranty by an atrocious example. In blowing up the ramparts of Vienna in 1809, and in destroying the venerated buildings of the Kremlin in 1812, Napoleon had exhibited a gratuitous barbarism which might have been made to justify almost any retaliation.* To the credit of the Allies, it is recorded that they wreaked no merely malicious vengeance on the French nation when they had it in their power, despite the provocations they had received. But they took their full meed of what might be called their legitimate vengeance, and too amply for either justice or good policy. Napoleon had been the first to adopt, in his Italian campaign of 1796, the practice of abstracting every work of art possessing superior merit from the princes and states he conquered for the enrichment of Paris; and thus in the course of his career, having subdued the continent of Europe, and occupied its principal cities, he had amassed in his capital almost all the treasures of genius extant in the civilised world, to the detriment and impoverishment of every other community. In this novel system of robbery, which was the most palpably humiliating to subjugated nations,

* M. Thiers, the sycophantic annalist of Napoleon, has already by anticipation, in his 'History of the Consulate and Empire,' anathematised the conduct of Blucher as *brutal*; and it remains to be seen, if he ever venture to publish the conclusion of that diffusest of narratives, what epithet he will apply to the conduct of the Emperor in blowing up the Kremlin, which, be it ever remembered, was not simply an ornamental construction, but an object of religious reverence to the Russians, and therefore immeasurably dear to them.

he acted as well from the inherent violence and indifference to the feelings of others which marked his character so forcibly, as from his desire to feed the vanity of the French, knowing the gratification of that to be the readiest passport to their attachment and applause. Thus he made Paris the centre not only of dominion, but of everything that was great and glorious in art or science; not a statue, or picture, or sculpture, or object of historical or curious value, having escaped his insatiable grasp. When the Allies entered Paris in 1814, such was the spirit of moderation by which they were actuated, that they suffered the whole of these pilfered articles, these priceless spoils of rapine, to remain untouched, and the French were left the consolation of possessing the most matchless museum in the world. But now, after their second inordinate sin, after they had shown that the spirit of conciliation was lost upon them, and that liberty itself had no charms for them akin to the temptation of luxuriating in foreign conquest, it was justly deemed a piece of superfluous magnanimity to leave them in possession of objects really belonging to others, and nefariously acquired by them. Accordingly the Louvre, that teeming magazine of artistic wealth, was rifled, and every power took what had been originally torn from it. Blucher set the first example in behalf of Prussia; and some idea of the extent of Napoleon's depredations may be gathered from the fact, that the list of articles reclaimed as abstracted by him from the palaces, castles, and towns of Prussia, and from the cities of Cologne and Aix-la-Chapelle, amounted to upwards of 2000, comprising statues, pictures, antiquities, cameos, manuscripts, maps, gems, and rarities of every description. The next claimant was the new king of the Netherlands on behalf both of Holland and Belgium; and Wellington, much to his discredit, consented to employ his soldiers in enforcing the demand, and in removing the articles enumerated as stolen from the cities and churches of the Low Countries. There can be no doubt he violated the terms of the capitulation by this act of direct interference, which was unnecessary on his part, and which he afterwards justified in a letter to Lord Castlereagh, couched in very insulting language towards the French people, and very contrary to his usual temperate and guarded tone. Afterwards the Pope and the princes of Italy recovered their lost master-pieces; then Austria and the potentates of Germany; lastly Spain, perhaps the most plundered of all; until of the mighty repository collected from all the corners of Europe, nothing was left but what the native art and genius of France, the taste and munificence of her ancient sovereigns, had contributed to embellish the halls and corridors of the most renowned of her sumptuous edifices.

Bernadotte, Prince-Royal of Sweden, had said to Louis XVIII. in the previous year, tendering him his advice as to the mode in

which he should conduct his government: 'Sire, make your concessions more to men than to things, to vanities and self-loves than to principles: I know the French of the Revolution: they require to be ruled by a rod of iron, or to be coaxed with sugar-plums.*' This estimate of his countrymen came with a very bad grace from an old Jacobin, whose revolutionary tendencies had often provoked the displeasure of Napoleon when himself a republican general; but it is in the main true. Public principle was well-nigh dead and out of fashion among the French, whilst their vanity is a thing almost surpassing understanding; and provided it be judiciously tickled, they will stand an immense deal of real kicking and buffeting. But in proportion to its intensity and predominance is its quick and acute susceptibility. Hence nothing that befell them in this dismal conjuncture of their history has rankled so much and bitterly in their memories as this despoilment of trophies, this resumption by the owners of what they had taken from them by force. In the mad vexation of their hearts, they even commit the extravagance of denouncing it as a violation of the law of nations, as if their own acquisition could have any plea of legality, or as if it were not a maxim of the code natural, valid in the wild desert as in the civilised city, that if a man catch a thief with his stolen property, he may lawfully retake it. But they argue more plausibly when they allege it to be a breach of the Convention of St Cloud; for, strictly speaking, it was so, at least so far as it was effected by the occupying armies. This Convention was undoubtedly a military capitulation, in which nothing was stipulated with regard to the government of France, or which the Allies, when they came to treat with that government, might not legitimately modify or reverse. It was the act only of Wellington and Blücher, who by no evasion could escape its obligation; but diplomatists might afterwards insist upon contrary stipulations, as a condition of granting better terms in other respects. Therefore in the form and manner of its operation, this premature despoilment was clearly a derelict of the Convention of St Cloud, and a measure of violence and insult which the French are warranted in resenting; but at the same time a similar restitution might have been made a condition of the subsequent peace, in the stringency of which the Allies, following the pernicious example of Napoleon, pushed to the last extremity the odious prerogatives of conquest.

The adjustment of this fresh peace with France was treated in a spirit and manner very different from what characterised the negotiations for the treaty of the preceding year. Undoubtedly the circumstances were likewise very different, and necessarily

* These are the exact words given by Capefigue, whom the French will not dispute as a competent authority, in his '*L'Europe depuis l'Événement du Roi Louis-Philippe*,' tom. i. p. 267: Brussels, 1845.

provoked a material alteration of conduct. Although the Allies had, in their manifesto of the 13th of March from Vienna, fulminated their anathema exclusively against Napoleon, whom they denounced as without the pale of civil and social relations, and who, as an enemy and disturber of the tranquillity of the world, had rendered himself liable to public vengeance, yet in their second conquest of France, and in her complete prostration, they were irresistibly tempted to extend their vengeance to the country itself, and to take the severest precautions against any fresh outbreak, by which it might again derange order and tranquillity in Europe. Some resistance which was made to the advance of the Austrians and Russians after the Emperor had actually abdicated—a resistance honourable to two French officers in particular, Barbanegre and Bugeaud—was held to show that the quarrel bore a national character, of which there was in reality no doubt, as the almost universal defection to Napoleon sufficiently established the fact. France, therefore, was to be punished, and such fetters were to be imposed on her as might effectually prevent her for the future from annoying other countries, either by a renewal of intestine commotions, or by a repetition of outward aggressions. Her enemies had her completely in their power, for they occupied her soil with 800,000 soldiers, whom they compelled her wretched people by arbitrary requisitions to maintain, and they were too intoxicated with their paramount position to demean themselves as temperate conquerors. The only hope of France lay in their mutual jealousies, which might lead them to quarrel amongst themselves; but even this was denied her, for the Coalition was too firmly knit together by experience of past errors and sufferings to permit dissension amongst its members until the great work of pacification was finally achieved. Hence all the efforts of Talleyrand to introduce divisions among the allied plenipotentiaries were fruitless; the latter continued to act in concert with unshaken fidelity, and carried on their conferences apart, excluding from any participation in them the representatives of France. In the discussion of the conditions to be exacted from France, England and Russia were the moderating powers, and particularly the former, in pursuance of the constant aim of its policy, to preserve as far as possible an equilibrium of power among the chief states of Europe, for the purpose of which it was requisite France should not be reduced to too low a point. Austria, Prussia, and the king of the Netherlands were, on the other hand, exorbitant in their demands, and insisted upon large dismemberments of the French territory: the first claiming the restitution of Alsace and Lorraine as old possessions of her princes; the second the fortifications of Luxembourg, Metz, Montmedi, Thionville and Sarrelouis, as necessary to the protection of her new frontier on the left of the Rhine; the latter all French Flan-

ders and its line of fortresses, as heretofore part of the Belgic territory. But Russia and England combated these excessive pretensions: yet with such pertinacity were they urged, that it was not until the 16th of September that an *ultimatum* was finally settled on the part of the Allies, and presented to Talleyrand as the representative of France. In this diplomatic instrument the conditions laid down were as follows:—The treaty of Paris of the preceding year was to be taken as the basis of the new treaty, but with serious modifications: *1st*, With regard to the limits of France; *2dly*, Touching indemnities to be imposed upon her; *3dly*, As to the continued occupation of her soil and fortresses by foreign troops. On the first point, the acquisitions of territory conceded to France by the treaty of the 30th May 1814 were to be taken from her, and certain of her fortresses demolished, particularly Huningue; on the second, a war-contribution of 600,000,000 francs (£24,000,000 sterling) was to be paid by her, together with other 200,000,000 (£8,000,000 sterling) to construct a defensive barrier against her future aggressions; on the third, 150,000 foreign troops were to be quartered for seven years on her territory, to be maintained by her, and to occupy all her chief frontier fortresses, such as Valenciennes, Bouchain, Cambray, Maubeuge, Lille, Thionville, Longwy, and Fort-Louis. Such were the rigorous terms on which the Allies were disposed to renew their peace with France, placed again under the government of her legitimate monarch, and shielded in her civil liberties by the safeguard of the constitutional Charter he had been pleased of his sovereign right to vouchsafe her.

Notwithstanding his long exile, and the persecution he and his family had undergone, Louis XVIII. was at heart a Frenchman, and felt deeply the miseries and humiliations inflicted upon the country he had been so strangely restored to rule. With almost speechless agony he read this terrible ultimatum of the Allies, and the thought presented itself to him, or was suggested by his minister, that rather than yield to such degrading conditions, it would be better to throw himself on his people, retire to the army behind the Loire, and try the effect of a desperate national struggle. Such a course would undoubtedly have endeared him to France, and for ever reconciled her to his otherwise loathed dynasty; but upon reflection, he could only foresee an aggravation of evils, or a chance of amelioration too remote and forlorn to be risked; for after the defeat of the regular armies, no population has ever yet succeeded in repelling the invasion of a disciplined conqueror.* It was necessary, therefore, to submit,

* This conclusion may seem to be belied by the example of France herself in 1792 and 1793; but independently of the egregious imbecility of the allied commanders in those years, which was of itself sufficient to insure their failure, we have the authority of Napoleon as to the value of that resistance, and as to the

resorting still to the arts of negotiation to obtain a mitigation of the terms. With this view Talleyrand addressed to the plenipotentiaries of the Allies a well-reasoned and temperate note, in which he recalled to their recollection that the Allies could not consider themselves in the light of conquerors, and therefore were not justified in demanding territorial cessions, after their solemn engagement, by the treaty of the 25th March 1815, to uphold in its integrity the treaty of Paris of the 30th May 1814.* At the same time the king was willing to accept the ancient limits of France on all points—to allow the principle of an indemnity, the amount of which should not be too burthensome for the resources of the country—and to admit of a temporary occupation; but he hesitated not to declare that an occupation of the kingdom for seven years was totally inadmissible. In the argument, it was clear that Talleyrand had the weight of logic on his side, since the Allies were distinctly pledged to act against Napoleon alone, and they

incapacity of a mere population, however valorous, to oppose trained soldiers. Speaking in the Council of State on the subject of the naval and military conscription, he said: 'It was neither the volunteers nor the recruits who saved the Republic; it was the 180,000 old troops of the monarchy, and the discharged veterans whom the Revolution impelled to the frontiers. Part of the recruits deserted, part died; a small proportion only remained, who in process of time made good soldiers. Why did the Romans effect such great things? Because six years' instruction was with them required to form a soldier. A legion composed of 3000 such men was worth 30,000 ordinary troops. With 15,000 men such as the Guards I would anywhere beat 40,000. You will not soon find me engaging in war with an army of recruits.'—*Thibaudau, Mémoires sur le Consulat*, 107.

* The treaty referred to by Talleyrand was concluded at Vienna between England, Russia, Prussia, and Austria, immediately after intelligence of Napoleon's landing in France reached the Congress. Its first article was thus couched:—'The high contracting parties solemnly engage to unite the resources of their respective states, for the purpose of maintaining entire the conditions of the treaty of peace concluded at Paris on the 30th of May 1814, as also the stipulations determined upon and signed at the Congress of Vienna, with the view to complete the dispositions of that treaty, to preserve them against all infringement, and particularly against the designs of Napoleon Bonaparte. For this purpose they engage, in the spirit of the declaration of the 13th of March last, to direct in common, and with one accord, should the case require it, all their efforts against him, and against all those who have already joined his faction, or may hereafter join it, in order to force him to desist from his projects, and to render him unable to disturb in future the tranquillity of Europe, and the general peace, under the protection of which the rights, liberties, and independence of nations have been recently placed and secured.' On ratifying this treaty, the Prince-Regent of Great Britain appended a memorandum, to the effect that 'his Britannic Majesty was not to be understood as bound to prosecute the war for the purpose of imposing upon France any particular government.' This was in reference to the eighth article of the treaty, by which the objects of the Allies were yet more emphatically declared to be exclusively directed against Napoleon. It ran thus:—'The present treaty having no other end in view but to support France, or any other country which may be invaded, against the enterprises of Napoleon Bonaparte and his adherents, his Most Christian Majesty shall be specially invited to accede hereunto; and in the event of his Majesty's requiring the forces stipulated in the second article, to make known what assistance circumstances will allow him to bring forward in furtherance of the object of the present treaty.' The other powers, through Lord Clancarty, subsequently acceded in form to the interpretation put upon the treaty by the Prince-Regent.—*Letter of Clancarty to Castlereagh*, 6th May 1815. *An. Reg.* 1815.

had loudly proclaimed their views to that effect in the hope of dividing France against him; but it was not difficult for belligerents with a preponderating force at command to evade stipulations which were inconvenient, and to allege an alteration of circumstances in excuse for their repudiation. In this process of expedient backsliding Talleyrand himself had been no mean adept in the unscrupulous school of Napoleon; and although deeply mortifying to him who had so long exercised a species of dictatorship in the diplomacy of Europe, he applied himself to conciliate and win over the plenipotentiaries of England—Wellington and Castlereagh—in the happy illusion of enlisting their influence in behalf of France. It is honourable to both countries that, instead of this conciliation being attempted by any mean compliances or derogatory supplications, it was sought only through a concession in the highest interests of humanity—namely, an agreement to suppress at once, and for ever, the traffic in slaves from Africa to America, upon which the people of Great Britain had compelled their government to invite the ban of united Christendom.

Able and astute, however, as M. de Talleyrand undoubtedly was in diplomatic artifices, he found the Allies impregnable to his insidious blandishments. On the 20th of September they returned a laconic answer to his elaborate note, in which they intimated that, for the future security of peace, and for the proper indemnification of past losses and sacrifices, they adhered to their previous ultimatum, disclaiming at the same time any desire to subtract from the substantial integrity of France, which would still remain one of the best-rounded and fortified countries of Europe to resist an invasion. This reiterated declaration necessarily brought the negotiation to a crisis. Talleyrand prepared a rejoinder, which he communicated to his colleagues, two of whom, Baron Louis and the Duke de Dalberg, accompanied him to submit it to the king. Upon their being ushered into the royal presence, a very singular scene occurred. Louis received them with marked embarrassment, a talent of feigning appearances enabling him to adjust his expression to any exigency he had in view; but Talleyrand, disregarding the sinister demeanour of his master, proceeded to read, with an animated tone and gesture, his counter-manifesto against the pretensions of the Allies. The king listened with apparent indifference, and when the paper was concluded, instead of criticising it, as was his wont with regard to State documents, he commenced a conversation upon the general state of the negotiation, and after expressing his conviction that all hope of dissolving the close alliance of the four powers was futile, said that he feared no alternative remained but to have recourse to the friendly intervention of Alexander. His ministers heard him, but made no reply; whereupon Louis abruptly asked them: 'And pray, gentle-

men, are you in a position to follow this new direction in my diplomatic relations?' Talleyrand undertook to answer for himself and his colleagues that they were not the most agreeable persons in the world to the Emperor of Russia, and allowed that it would be difficult for them to cultivate his good graces. 'I believe you very readily,' the king rejoined: 'the Emperor of Russia has not concealed from me that if I placed the direction of my affairs in other hands, better conditions might be granted; that in such a case he would himself defend the interests of France with his Allies, and especially with regard to the Prussians, who are the most insatiable.' 'In that case,' M. de Talleyrand replied, 'I beg the king to permit me to retire from his council; it is fitting he should be free to place his confidence in more worthy hands.' The duke and the baron, his colleagues, gave utterance to the same prayer. Louis affected to be pained, and remarked to them: 'You see to what circumstances force me; I have to thank you for your zeal and attachment: you leave the ministry irreproachable.' With these words, after some commonplace compliments to the abilities of his discarded counsellors, he dismissed them from his presence. Talleyrand left the royal cabinet in a more excited state than was ever usual with him, and exclaimed to his colleagues, as they descended the staircase: 'We have been tricked; this is an intrigue of old standing.' It was so, as will be hereafter explained; but it not the less led to the immediate and almost ignominious dissolution of the first ministry of the second Restoration, after an uneasy existence of two months, constituted upon the principle of a partial reconciliation with the Revolution, and under the auspices of the complaisant and plastic Prince of Benevento.

As had been prearranged, the presidency of the Council and ministry of foreign affairs was conferred on the Duke de Richelieu, who enjoyed in the fullest degree the good opinion of Alexander, whom he had served for many years with great distinction as governor of southern Russia, the beautiful capital of which, the city of Odessa, owed to him its prosperity and its embellishment. Assuredly the favour of a foreign monarch was but an indifferent merit in a prime minister of France; but in these her days of sorrow and penitence, it was perhaps the highest qualification he could possess, since it might enable him to obtain less crushing terms for his unfortunate country than would be conceded to another by its haughty conquerors. But whether Alexander did not choose to thwart his allies in their rapacious purposes, or whether they were intractable even to his potent mediation, it is certain that in the eventual conditions of the treaty no material amelioration was gained, save in the solitary particular of the duration of the foreign occupation. The negotiation, however, continued until the middle of November, and was not brought

finally to a conclusion until the 20th of that month. On that day the second treaty of Paris was signed between the king of France, under his absurd antiquated designation of 'His Most Christian Majesty' on the one part, and the king of Great Britain on behalf of himself and his allies on the other part. Its chief stipulations were, that the boundaries of France should be the same as they existed in 1790—from the North Sea to the Mediterranean—whereby the fortresses of Landau, Sarrelouis, Philippeville, and Marienbourg, with their surrounding districts, were detached from her, and given to Austria, Prussia, and the Netherlands; the country of Gex and Versoix was ceded to the canton of Geneva, and the line of French custom-houses removed to the west of the Jura; the part of Savoy annexed to France by the treaty of the 30th May 1814 was transferred to Sardinia, as likewise the sovereignty of the principality of Monaco. The fortifications of Haninguen were to be demolished, and not again restored. In addition, France was to pay an indemnity of 700,000,000 francs for the expenses of the last war, besides an indemnity to each individual power for its losses during the revolutionary war. This latter sum amounted to 735,000,000 in addition, so that, with 100,000,000 already paid to prevent military requisitions, France had to pay in the whole upwards of 1,500,000,000 francs, or £60,000,000 sterling. Moreover, 150,000 foreign troops, comprising 30,000 each from England, Russia, Prussia, Austria, and the German confederation, were to occupy her territory for five years at the most, or for three if the state of affairs was then favourable, and to be maintained for such periods by the French exchequer. These troops were to hold and garrison the strongholds of Cambrai, Valenciennes, Bouchain, Condé, Le Quesnoy, Maubeuge, Landrecies, Avesnes, Rocroi, Givet, Mezieres, Sedan, Montmedy, Thionville, Longwy, Bitche, and Fort-Louis. Such was that humiliating treaty which calls indignant blood to the cheek of every Frenchman as he reads its appalling conditions, and moodily compares them with those of previous pacifications so glorious to his country, until he curses the destiny that struck down the colossal architect of its greatness, and sighs for those triumphant days of empire, when France indeed was fettered and enslaved, but yet she was proud in her chains as the gaunt mistress and dominator of trampled nationalities!*

* With how strong a feeling this treaty was abhorred at the very time of its conclusion, and by him even who negotiated it, may be judged by an extract from the following letter of Richelieu, dated the 21st November:—

'The end is consummated! Yesterday I affixed, more dead than alive, my name to this fatal treaty. I had vowed not to do it, and had said so to the king. That unfortunate prince conjured me, with tears in his eyes, not to forsake him, and from that moment I could no longer hesitate. My only consolation is derived from the belief that no one could have done better for our country than myself.'—*Capfigue, Restoration*, tom. i. p. 434.

It was not, however, only in the actual treaty that the Allies imposed their imperious law on France. They had, as preliminary conditions to their treating at all, insisted upon two most nauseous concessions. These were relative to the disbanding of the army, and the punishment of political offenders. The army, although so terribly mauled and disheartened, still gave umbrage to the conquerors as a relic of Napoleon; and Alexander correctly expressed their feeling when he stated to Louis XVIII., through his minister Count Nesselrode, that they deemed it equally guilty with the arch-perturbator himself, and that it must be punished accordingly. Talleyrand protested vehemently against so outrageous a doctrine, which implied that an army was to be made answerable for the sins of a government, and pointed especially to the gross injustice of disarming France pending negotiations for peace. Alexander and his allies were inflexible in their purpose, all protestations and arguments notwithstanding; and they concentrated towards Orleans and Blois upwards of 200,000 men, as if to execute the dissolution by force of arms. It is certain that their anxiety for the disbanding of the army arose not so much from the wish to punish it, as they professed, as from the fear of its forming the nucleus of a national rising, particularly by the Vendéans, with whom patriotism glowed as fervently as loyalty. Positively persisting in their demand, therefore, the ministry of Louis XVIII. could do no other than submit. The army was to be disbanded; the Grand Army, whose reminiscence still filled the world with dread, whose achievements had drawn upon it an everlasting renown, was in its last shreds to be now obliterated. Mournful and bitter truly was this stroke to the pride of France, for to the least sensitive it spoke in bluntest language of the downright annihilation of the country! To Macdonald, Duke of Tarentum, the veteran of Wagram, was assigned the melancholy duty of breaking up these bands of warriors, whose old comrade he was, and whom he had often marshalled to the pipe of victory. The task was not an easy one, for a mutinous and almost savage spirit reigned among the soldiers, who burned with shame at the thought of their disgrace, and were maddened by the belief they had been betrayed. But Macdonald displayed great tact and judgment in its execution; and being seconded by Davout, who commanded in chief, performed it without exciting any formidable outbreak. A new army was created upon a totally different organisation, consisting of royal guards, eighty-six legions of infantry, containing each three battalions, eight regiments of foot, and four of horse artillery, and forty-seven regiments of cavalry, with the usual adjuncts of sappers and miners. This fresh organisation was necessarily a work of time, and occupied many months, during which period France lay utterly defenceless, since even the National

Guards, who had been enrolled by Napoleon in his extremity, were likewise disarmed and disbanded. Never, assuredly, was a country so made to feel, in all its intensity, the degradation and woe of military discomfiture; never was a retribution for the oppression of others more signal or complete. The lesson stands on the page of history the most memorable and instructive, warning, if the voice of warning can avail, that the wrongs of nations cry aloud for vengeance, and that in the end the cry is heard.

In pursuance of their expressed determination to punish all the aiders and abettors of Napoleon in what they called his criminal design, the Allies demanded that an example should be made of the more flagrant of his partisans by the approved modes in vogue among governments—namely, confiscation, banishment, and death. They held such an example, they said, essential to the stability of peace and to the discouragement of future treasons. In their demand they were cordially seconded by the more fervent Royalists, who eagerly clamoured for condign chastisement on the subverters of the legitimate throne. Louis XVIII. himself was sufficiently exasperated to give a ready concurrence, and it was accordingly resolved that a list of proscription should be framed. The Allies, it would seem, gave in certain names of the more eminently culpable; but the digestion of the list was principally confided to the minister of police, the renegade Fouché. This man, be it said, was in reality an enemy to severity, being far from harsh, vindictive, or vexatious in his inquisitorial functions, as he is often represented; but he had to atone for his own past delinquencies, and, by the fervour of his zeal, to show the heartiness of his interest in the cause of the new dynasty. Thus he prepared to sacrifice without remorse his old associates in the Revolution, and he selected upwards of a hundred for the hideous holocaust. These were, by successive eliminations in the Council of State, reduced eventually to fifty-seven, who were divided into two categories. Against nineteen a royal ordinance, dated the 24th July, was issued, directing them to be arrested and tried before military councils for levying war against France and its government, or for forcibly seizing possession of power; against thirty-eight a similar ordinance, directing them to repair within three days to the localities assigned them by the police, there to remain under surveillance until their fate was decided by the Chambers. Among the nineteen, the most conspicuous names were those of Ney, Grouchy, Labédoyere, D'Erlon, Lavalette, and Savary; among the thirty-eight, those of Soult, Excelmans, Thibaudeau, Carnot, Regnault de St Jean d'Angely, and Réal. Against three of the former more particularly the rage of the court was excited—namely, Ney, Labédoyere, and Lavalette. The defection of Ney had carried with it that of the whole army; Labédoyere had set the first example of desertion to Napoleon at the head of the

garrison of Grenoble; Lavalette was married to the niece of the Empress Josephine, the beautiful and heroic Emilie de Beauharnais, and had, on the 20th of March, the day on which Louis XVIII. quitted Paris, taken possession of the post-office, the governorship of which he had held under Napoleon, stopped the transmission of the 'Moniteur' containing a proclamation from the king, and announced by telegraph to the departments the triumphant approach of the Emperor to his old capital. On these several grounds these three distinguished officers were peculiarly obnoxious, and they were accordingly marked to undergo the extreme vengeance of the law. Ney himself had announced, in his famous speech in the Chamber of Peers, what he expected to be his fate under a return of the Bourbons; and immediately after the capitulation of Paris he had proceeded to the south, furnished with a passport in a feigned name by Fouché, with the intention of taking refuge in Switzerland. He reached the frontier, and might have easily passed it, but at the moment he was stung with shame at the idea of leaving his country with the brand of traitor on his forehead, a tarnished name as an inheritance to his children, and he resolved to return and brave all the wrath of his enemies. He did so, and was seized at a country-house near Cahors, which belonged to a relation of his wife, and where he was living without any attempt at concealment. Being conveyed to Paris, he was immured in a cell of the Conciergerie, where he was kept for many months in rigorous and solitary confinement before he was finally brought to trial. Lavalette and Labédoyere were likewise lodged in the same gloomy prison, and subjected for a protracted period to all the horrors of a dismal incarceration.*

So far as concerned the illustrious Ney, a cogent objection seemed to stand preliminarily in his defence. He was in Paris at the time of the capitulation, and by the Convention of St Cloud, it was expressly stipulated that 'the inhabitants, and in general all individuals at present in the capital, shall continue to enjoy their rights and liberties without being disquieted or prosecuted in any respect relative to the functions which they fill or may have filled, or to their political conduct or opinions.' This provision was sufficiently ample to cover every species of delinquency as against the Bourbon government; but was that government bound by it? This was a question that has been very keenly debated, and admits certainly of two solutions. The Convention of St Cloud was simply a military act signed by two foreign generals, Wel-

* Ney could play tolerably well on the flute, and he amused himself in prison with his favourite instrument; but he was soon deprived of it, as being contrary to the rules of the place. Lavalette often heard him from his cell play a particular waltz, which thus grew familiar to his ear; and hearing the same air suddenly one day subsequently at a rural fête in Bavaria, he was overcome with emotion, and obliged to withdraw.—*Lavalette's Memoirs*, vol. ii. p. 253.

lington and Blucher, and was not obligatory on the king when reinstated on his throne. But the king owed the immediate possession of that throne to this same Convention, of which, having reaped the advantage, he fell within the scope of its provisions. So stands the argument; and it may be said that if, technically, Louis XVIII. was free from engagements not absolutely contracted by himself, morally he was bound by the acts of others whose services he had accepted. Casuists, however, were not wanting to blunt the royal conscience with absolving subtleties, and the impeachment of Ney was determined upon. But there was one person then in Paris whose voice was potential with the government of Louis XVIII., and who might be supposed stirred by the sense of honour alone to insist that his own capitulation should be rigidly adhered to—and this was Wellington. And then how rich the pleasure, how sweet the consolation, how untainted the glory, of rescuing from death a fellow-warrior whose fame encircled the hemispheres! Alas! Wellington was indifferent both to the point of honour and to the touch of sensibility. Cold and severely stern in temperament, this great commander was inaccessible to the generous affections, and with a punctilious regard to the sentiment of duty, had his heart steeled against the aberrations of softness. It is perhaps essential that it should be so with a commander of armies, and certainly the condition may be remarked in all the greatest of modern conquerors; but in the ancient world, Alexander and Cæsar were glorious exemptions from the rule, and if they fought like heroes, could sometimes weep like women. Not so Wellington, however; not even the intreaties and tears of the Princess de la Moskowa, who besought in person his intercession, could move him to interpose in behalf of the unfortunate marshal. He replied to her supplications that the affair did not concern him; that he was simply the general of a foreign power, and that the question was one exclusively for the determination of the domestic government of France, over which he could exercise no influence. No eloquence could make him swerve from this position, and he dismissed the disconsolate wife with a recommendation to apply to the king himself, who might deign to lend a gracious ear to her prayers for mercy.

There is perhaps little doubt that Louis XVIII. himself and his ministry, particularly that of Talleyrand and Fouché, would have gladly avoided staining the Restoration with the blood of an imperial marshal, and that one the most celebrated and beloved of all; but there are cruel exigencies which governments are often unable to evade, through the virulence of party-spirit, which is blind equally to justice and to policy, and especially in times of reaction, when the thirst of vengeance is insatiable. Thus even these ministers were obliged to concur in sacrificing Labédoyère,

who was tried and condemned by a military commission for the crime of desertion, and who accordingly underwent the punishment of death, which he received with all the fortitude becoming his character.* The trial of Ney was postponed from time to time until November, when the new ministry of Richelieu at length determined to have him tried before a council of war. The presidency of such a council naturally devolved upon Marshal Moncey, as the senior marshal; but that respectable veteran resolutely declined the office, and sent to the king a strong remonstrance against the whole proceeding. For this offence, by a simple ordinance, he was deprived of his rank, and condemned to suffer three months' imprisonment in the fortress of Ham—a stretch of authority recalling the most absolute times of the old monarchy. A council of war was nevertheless convoked, of which Jourdan was appointed president, and which comprised among its members Massena, Augereau, and Mortier. Ney being thus arraigned before his old comrades, his two advocates, MM. Berryer and Dupin, then only rising to the eminence they afterwards attained, demurred to the jurisdiction of the court, on the grounds, *1st*, That the accused was a peer at the time of the commission of the offence, and could be tried only in that quality; *2dly*, That the accusation included a charge of high treason, the cognisance of which crime was attributed by the 33d article of the charter to the Chamber of Peers. These grounds the council, very anxious doubtless to get rid of a disagreeable duty, found valid, and declared itself incompetent to enter upon the trial of the accused marshal. Great was the rage of the Royalists, and embarrassing the position of the ministers, at this second disappointment: the former clamoured loudly that there was clearly a conspiracy to save the most criminal of traitors from punishment, and that only the more energetic means must be used to insure it. Moved by the excitement around them, the ministers resolved, on the night of the 10th November, after a whole day's deliberation, to impeach Ney before the Chamber of Peers, which

* Labédoyere was highly connected among the old nobility, and although very young, had received the command of a regiment from the royal government in 1814; but falling into the seductive circle of the Duchess de Saint-Leu (Hortense, ex-queen of Holland), who remained in Paris during the first Restoration, he was easily brought, through his enthusiastic temperament, to join in the Bonapartist plots for the return of the Emperor. Fouché made every effort to prevent his arrest. He sent for him upon the 8th July, and said to him, 'I advise you strongly to leave France; here are passports for you; and if you have any difficulty about money, take these 25,000 francs in gold; but get away as quick as you can.' Labédoyere proceeded as far as Clermont, really intending to emigrate to America; but he imprudently returned to Paris to settle some affairs, where he was forthwith seized. It may be remarked that Fouché is said to have disbursed upwards of 200,000 francs of the secret funds of the police in facilitating the departure from the kingdom of the more deeply-compromised imperialists. It is very fitting that this redeeming trait should be recorded to his honour. It is the boast of humanity that even the worst of men have some good point or other about them, which saves them from the category of demons.

had been previously weeded of all the more prominent partisans of the imperial dynasty. For this purpose the Chamber was converted by a special ordinance into a high criminal court, and assigned the aid of twenty judges of the superior courts to elucidate questions of law. The act of impeachment emanated directly from the council of ministers, and contained charges of conspiring to seat a usurper on the throne, of inciting the soldiers to rebellion and desertion, and generally of high treason against the king and State. The Duke de Richelieu himself presented this act to the Chamber, and accompanied it by a memorial of an extremely vituperative character against the Prince de la Moskowa, whom he declared the government prosecuted not so much in the name of the king, as in that of France, as in that of all Europe, long outraged, and now disgusted with the delay of justice and the triumph of traitors. Several days were spent in preliminary discussions on the forms of procedure, and it was not until the 21st that the business of the trial was commenced in an open sitting of the court.

The High Chancellor Dambray presided over this solemn judiciary, and Marshal Ney was defended by the same counsel who had pleaded his cause before the council of war. There being no procureur-general at the time, M. Bellart fulfilled his functions, and acted as leading counsel for the crown. He was a man whom long practice in criminal courts had hardened into the rough and bullying advocate, who urges every advantage to the prejudice of a prisoner, represents his actions in the most odious colours, covers him with the slang of vile opprobrium, and avails himself of all arts to procure a conviction, which he prizes simply as a trophy of forensic ability. An extraordinary interest was manifested in the course of the trial; for who could be insensible to a process which had for issue the life of 'the bravest of the brave,' of the hero of the Russian retreat—of him to whom, as Marshal Moncey had nobly said, so many Frenchmen owed their lives, so many families their sons and their protectors! The principal witness adduced to prove the treason of Ney was himself a doubly-dyed traitor. This was General Bourmont, who had coincided with the marshal on the necessity of declaring for Napoleon, and approved the proclamation he issued to the troops from Lons-le-Saulnier on the 14th of March; who had afterwards served under the Emperor, and ultimately deserted to the enemy the night before the French army crossed the Sambre. In the testimony he gave, he took care to conceal his own share of the transaction, and attributed language to the marshal which the latter indignantly disclaimed. This gave rise to a personal altercation between the witness and the prisoner, which could not be other than unseemly in a court of justice. It was at length ended by an adroit interrogation of M. Berryer—'Are we to understand

that when all the troops cried *Vive l'Empereur*, M. de Bourmont alone waved his hat and cried *Vive le Roi*? M. Bellart fiercely objected to this question being put, and after much legal wrangling, it was disallowed. But its effect was not lost, and Bourmont retired from the box covered with shame and confusion. Other evidence was given, and from the whole it appeared to be the fact, as Ney himself narrated upon his own inquisition, that up to the 14th of March he remained faithful to the cause of the king; and that then, finding the feeling of the army and of the country to be universally in favour of the Emperor, he yielded to the torrent, and headed the defection: that in so doing, he was both legally and morally culpable there could be no doubt, more especially after the emphatic assurances he had given personally to Louis XVIII. upon his departure for the army, when he used the somewhat barbarous expression, that he would bring back Bonaparte *in an iron cage* — words which he hesitated not to acknowledge that he uttered. Consequently but one deliverance could be given upon the indictment, and that was a verdict of guilty, unless under the Convention of St Cloud the offence was amnestied. Davout, Guilleminot, Bignon, and Bondy, the negotiators and signers of that convention, were called to prove that, but for the saving clause of the 12th article, the capitulation would not have been accepted, and that the determination was positive to risk a defence unless it was conceded. But this testimony, although indubitable, and of great moral weight, was in reality of no avail, since the convention was the act of an English and a Prussian general, and could not be admitted as binding on a French court of justice. So it was necessarily ruled, notwithstanding all the eloquence of M. Berryer to induce a contrary conclusion. Meanwhile so keen and incessant were the disputations of counsel in this remarkable trial, and so frequent the interruptions to its progress, that although the facts were simple enough, and scarcely disputed, the proceedings lingered until the 6th of December, on which day the peers decided almost unanimously on the guilt of the accused; and late at night, by a majority of 139 to 17, pronounced against him the penalty of death.

Ney was not summoned to hear the sentence, but the judgment was communicated to him in his chamber by M. Cauchy, the keeper of the records, who awakened him from a profound sleep for the purpose. It was already past midnight, and Ney had retired to bed in perfect tranquillity, after eating a hearty supper, and smoking as usual a Havannah cigar. 'I have a grievous mission to fulfil, M. le Maréchal,' said M. Cauchy to him as he unfolded his parchment. 'Do your duty, M. Canchy,' said the marshal calmly in reply; 'every one has his own in this world.' As the preamble was being read, he interrupted the speaker: 'Skip that,' he exclaimed; 'come to the point.' So also at the

long enumeration of his titles, he cried out impatiently, 'What is the use of all that? Say simply Michael Ney, soon a little dust; that is enough.' He begged the assistance of a minister of religion, and the curé of St Sulpice accordingly attended him. His execution was to take place that same morning, and he had but little time to prepare for death. Meanwhile an effort was made to save his life by the ministers themselves, who were conscious how much the Bourbon government would gain in popularity by commuting his punishment; but when Richelieu waited on the king with the recommendation of the council of ministers, he rudely rejected it, and said the law must take its course. In fact, from the temper of the dominant faction at the moment, and the instigations of the foreign powers, it was almost impossible for Louis to venture on the exercise of his prerogative of mercy, which would have been reviled as a symptom of weakness and apprehension.* At three in the morning of the 7th December the preparations for the mournful tragedy were commenced, and files of soldiers were drawn up around all the avenues of the Luxembourg, in which palace the condemned marshal passed his last night. He was attended by M. de Semonville, the grand referendary of the Chamber of Peers, whom he requested to supply him with a bottle of claret. His request being complied with, he took a copious draught of the wine; and at nine o'clock, being dressed in a blue surtout, with an ordinary round hat on his head, he was conducted to the carriage which awaited him. It was a common hackney-coach, and in the front were seated two officers of gendarmerie; the back seat was occupied by Ney and the curé. On reaching a secluded spot in the gardens of the Luxembourg, beneath the high wall of the umbrageous avenue, the carriage stopped, and Ney immediately alighted with a bound. 'Is it to be here, sir?' he said, addressing the officer in command. 'Yes, M. le Maréchal,' replied the latter with a respectful sorrow. Ney thereupon took off his hat with his left hand, and placed his right on his heart. 'Comrades, fire on me!' he cried to the soldiers ranged to shoot him. The signal was given by the officer, and he fell dead, no convulsive movement betokening even the

* Among the chief stimulants to vengeance by the Bourbon government, it is melancholy to state, were several journals of the British press. Of these the most celebrated was 'The Times,' a London daily paper, which had already begun that course of dexterously siding with the prevailing sentiments of the day which eventually raised it, combined doubtless with surpassing ability and enterprise, to be the most influential organ of opinion in the whole world. At this period it was distinguished by violent denunciations against the men of the Revolution and the Hundred Days. With reference to the ordinances of proscription, it remarked, 'We perceive with pleasure that the king of France has at length adopted vigorous measures; the ordinances directed against the guilty accomplices of Bonaparte are regarded in this country with unanimous approbation. The only regret felt is from the absence of several additional names. It remains to be seen whether these ordinances will be faithfully executed; on that depends the future prosperity and tranquillity of France.'

most momentary agony. The body was suffered to lie for upwards of twenty minutes exposed to the gaze of the curious: it was found that three bullets had passed through the head and seven into the breast; so the invulnerable marshal, who had defied all the missiles of foreign enemies for twenty years, proved puerile at last to the levelled muskets of his own countrymen.

Thus perished the renowned warrior in the forty-seventh year of his age. He had sprung from the very lowest rank of life, his father having been a common soldier in the Seven Years' War, and subsequently a working cooper; but of this humble origin he was justly proud. Of his military qualities it is unnecessary to speak, as they have been sufficiently exposed. In disposition he was kind and generous, though his susceptibility often embroiled him in unseasonable quarrels with his colleagues. His great defect was the want of firmness of character, which sprung in a great measure from his simplicity and mere amiability. His default, however, in this respect he expiated with his blood; and what availed it to the Bourbon dynasty that this blood was shed? In reality the murder of Ney—for it was distinctly a murder after the Convention of St Cloud—instead of strengthening the throne of the Restoration, weakened it by all the odium of an abhorrent action, the remembrance of which was cherished with intense bitterness and hatred.* Extreme measures of vengeance have perhaps a temporary effect by inspiring awe, but they recoil with fearful energy on their authors, and entail upon them the certain doom of retribution. Thus the subsequent dethronement of the Bourbons was more or less a remote consequence of this crime, which continued to rankle in the minds of the French, and keep alive in them a sentiment of antagonism. The allied governments were almost as much to blame as that of France, particularly the British and Prussian, who were more directly compromised in the obligations of the capitulation of Paris; and Wellington's name can never be dissociated from the perpetration of the foul deed. What a glorious solace it would have been for him, in the declining years of his long life, to have saved the life of Ney, and how such an action would have appeased the animosity of the French against him and against his nation! But at that time aristocracy was too rampant, too elated with its final conquest over democracy and revolution; it took no heed of consequences, but indulged its pride and malice with all the recklessness of vulgar triumph. To make the iron enter deep, deep, into the soul of France, to wound and lacerate her dearest sensibilities, to

* Mr Allison, whose generous mind is always on a question of feeling superior to his political and social prejudices, has this fine saying on the death of Ney:—'Banished from France, with his double treason affixed to his forehead, Ney's character was irrecoverably withered; but to the end of the world his guilt will be forgotten in the tragic interest and noble heroism of his death.'—*Hist. of Europe*, vol. xx. p. 29.

exercise over her a capricious tyranny, was then the passion of the rulers of Europe, disguising their insidious lust by pretences of providing for future tranquillity and order; and it must be said that of these rulers the British aristocracy displayed the most malevolent spirit; nor, sooth to say, was it altogether unshared by the irreflective bulk of the British population.

Unsatiated with the blood of the youthful Labédoyère and the heroic Ney, the masters of the hour thirsted hotly also for that of Lavalette. Through the intervention of Baron Pasquier, who was minister of justice at the time of his arrest, and deeply interested in his favour, Lavalette was appointed to be tried before the ordinary criminal court, instead of by a council of war like Labédoyère, his imputed offence being purely of a civil character. This occasioned a considerable delay, and it was not until the 19th of November that he was placed at the bar of the Court of Assize for the Seine on the twofold charge of conspiracy and usurpation of authority. Of the first very indecisive evidence was given to criminate him, whereas Pasquier and others deposed expressly that he was in no manner privy to the return of Napoleon; of the second he was clearly guilty, but by the law it amounted only to a misdemeanour, punishable by fine and imprisonment. It was obviously, therefore, the interest of the accused that the two charges should be divided and put separately to the jury; but the counsel for the crown insisted that they should be conjoined, and it was so ruled accordingly by the court. After several hours' deliberation, the jury, by a majority of eight to four, returned a general verdict of guilty, and half an hour after midnight on the 20th the president pronounced on the prisoner the awful sentence of death. An appeal being lodged by him to the Court of Cassation, a delay necessarily took place of at least three weeks in the execution, and the interim was diligently employed by his friends in endeavours to obtain a commutation. It would seem that Louis XVIII. was sincerely desirous of sparing the life of Lavalette; but the fury of the Royalists was boundless against him, for in his person they struck a blow at the imperial family itself, a satisfaction too rare to be forborne; and he actually dared not give efficacy to his wish. It was arranged, however, that Madame Lavalette should personally supplicate him in behalf of her husband, and Louis granted her an audience, in which he addressed to her a few vague words of encouragement. But after the judgment was confirmed on the 20th December by the superior court, an authoritative intimation was given that the sentence would be carried into execution in three days. No time, therefore, was to be lost, and a petition for mercy was hastily drawn up, to be presented to the king by Madame Lavalette. The difficulty was how to get access to him, since orders had been given not to admit her into the palace, as

Louis wished to avoid the pain of seeing her. In this emergency Marmont, Duke of Ragusa, undertook to introduce her into the Tuileries, and succeeded in doing so, conducting her to the gallery through which the royal family would have to pass after attending the forenoon mass. He resisted the attempt of the officer on duty to exclude Madame Lavalette, saying, 'The lady is now here, and she shall remain. I will be answerable for the consequences.' A moment afterwards the king appeared, and seeing it was too late to evade the meeting, he advanced along the gallery. As he approached, Madame Lavalette threw herself at his feet, and presented her petition. He took it from her graciously, and said, 'Your grief is very natural, madame, and I appreciate it; but I have duties to fulfil which cannot be dispensed with.' With these words he walked on. He was followed by the Duchess d'Angouleme, and to her also Madame Lavalette kneeled and held out her petition. That princess, whose own misfortunes ought to have made her feel for the sufferings of others, passed coldly by, and refused to take the paper. Although thus repulsed, the unfortunate wife resolved to make another effort; and the following day being the birthday of the duchess, and also the anniversary of her release from the Temple, two events calculated to move her heart with benignant sentiments, she repaired again to the palace in the hope of penetrating to her presence. In this endeavour she was foiled; the sentries sternly refused to let her pass, and after she had vainly waited for an hour, seated in a forlorn attitude on the steps of the court, seeing the hopelessness of gaining admittance, she retired, weeping, to throw herself into the arms of her doomed husband.

But the courage and determination of this extraordinary woman were not daunted by her failures, but rather braced to still greater exertion. Ardently attached to her husband, she vowed she would not survive him, and she was prepared to incur any risk to save his life. Being allowed free access to him in the Conciergerie, she proposed to him that he should leave the prison in her dress, accompanied by her young daughter, whom she brought with her to aid the disguise. Lavalette refused at first to listen to the proposal, on account both of the danger she would incur, and of the apparent impossibility of the scheme; but she insisted so resolutely that he was obliged to yield. Very complete arrangements were made by her for the success of the enterprise, and it was attempted on the evening before the appointed execution. Wrapped up in a large pelisse lined with fur, and leading his daughter by the hand, Lavalette emerged from his cell, leaving behind the screen dividing it his devoted wife. Slowly he tottered along the corridors and through the outer rooms filled with turnkeys, keeping a handkerchief to his face, and affecting to be absorbed in grief. He passed with-

out being discovered; but his greatest danger was from the chief jailer, who was always accustomed to hand Madame Lavalette to her chair. The presence of the child was intended to prevent this piece of attention on his part; and it had the effect, for he merely bowed to Lavalette as he went out, saying, 'You are retiring early this evening, madame!' Lavalette answered him with a deep sigh, and the poor man withdrew much affected. One of the chairmen was not to be found; but even such a casualty had been provided against, and Lavalette's valet-de-chambre was in attendance to supply the deficiency by the instructions of his mistress. At a short distance a cabriolet was in waiting, into which the fugitive hastily jumped, and he was rapidly driven to a spot where a friend awaited his coming. This was M. Baudus, whom he followed on foot through a great variety of streets, having exchanged his pelisse and bonnet in the cabriolet for a servant's upper-coat and hat. To his amazement he perceived M. Baudus at length stop before the hotel of the prime-minister, the Duke de Richelieu, and coolly knock at the door. Whilst his friend spoke to the porter, he was directed to ascend to the third flat of the building, and stop in a particular corridor, where he was suddenly pushed by an unseen hand into a room, and the door closed upon him. In this room he was subsequently rejoined by M. Baudus, and told that he was in the apartments of M. Bresson, cashier in the department of foreign affairs. This person and his wife had narrowly escaped the persecutions of the Reign of Terror, owing their safety to the shelter of courageous friends; and they were so affected by their own preservation under such circumstances, that they had vowed to save any person in a similar predicament if they ever had the opportunity. M. Baudus being a connection of theirs, knew this peculiar feeling entertained by them; and although they were totally unacquainted with Lavalette, and by no means attached to the imperial dynasty, they at once agreed to receive and secrete him in their house. Of course such an asylum was the very safest he could have found, as about the last place to be searched for a political fugitive would be naturally the hotel of the highest functionary of the government.

Meanwhile, what had become of the constant and the noble-hearted woman who was content to brave the rage of his baffled enemies if she could but save the life of an adored husband? Only a few minutes elapsed after the evasion before she was discovered by the jailer, who immediately gave the alarm, and gendarmes were sent in pursuit in all directions. The chair was speedily overtaken, but the daughter only was found in it—the culprit had escaped! To describe the excitement and the consternation produced in the court and among the Royalists by this event would be a hopeless task; it was considered as foreboding a fresh in-

sururrection of the army, as indicating a general plot to overturn the government, as showing the existence of treachery in public functionaries, and a hundred other exaggerated dangers. In the Chamber of Deputies the fury was excessive, and the blindness of passion was carried to the pitch of an open denunciation of the ministers for having *favoured the hopes* of M. Lavalette for mercy. M. Decazes, the new police-minister, was overwhelmed with reproaches, and nothing but his great influence with the king preserved him from immediate disgrace. The most active measures, nevertheless, were taken by the government to trace the fugitive; the houses of all his relatives, friends, and acquaintances were repeatedly searched; the barriers were closed and guarded by strong detachments of soldiers; the passport system was redoubled in precautions and vigilant supervision. No doubt was entertained that he would be eventually captured, through the sheer impossibility of his leaving Paris; and in the meantime the author of this great blow, of this cruel disappointment, of this unsettling commotion, Madame Lavalette, was exposed to all the brutal vengeance of men maddened by frustrated revenge, by the denial of their anticipated prey. After suffering outrageous abuse from the exasperated turnkeys, she was locked up in the cell lately occupied by Marshal Ney, the stifling temperature of which caused her acute pain. Here she was subsequently interrogated by M. Bellart, who manifested towards a defenceless woman the vulgar insolence of his character, and by his detestable rudeness, occasioned in her the agitation which ultimately induced the fearful malady that so long afflicted her. She was kept in this rigorous confinement for upwards of six weeks, and debarred from all outward communication, during which her continual anxiety and alarm so preyed upon her mind, that when she was at length released, her mental faculties were gone, and for twelve years she remained in a state of imbecility! Poor Emilie de Beauharnais! History has many female names to record with praise and honour; there are few that can vie in lustre or in affecting interest with hers. She had, however, the consolation to know that the object for which she had sacrificed herself was gained, and that her husband had eluded the pursuit of the police. After remaining secluded in Bresson's house for more than a fortnight, he succeeded in getting out of Paris in the disguise of an officer of the British Guards, and so escaped across the frontier. Sir Robert Wilson, an English general, was the principal personage concerned in effecting this escape, and he was assisted by two others of his generous countrymen, Mr Michael Bruce and Mr John Hely Hutchinson, the first a civilian, the latter a British Guardsman.*

* It is singular that these gentlemen represented the different portions of the British Empire. Wilson was an Englishman, Bruce a Scotchman, and Hutchinson an Irishman.

They were all three subsequently tried before the French court of assize on a charge of conspiracy and concealment of a convicted felon,* and the last offence being clearly proved, they were found guilty, and sentenced to undergo three months' imprisonment. As for Lavalette himself, he made good his retreat into Bavaria, by whose excellent monarch he was well received, and where he joined Prince Eugene, who had, after the downfall of the kingdom of Italy, taken refuge at the court of his father-in-law. He remained in exile for six years, at the end of which time the forgiveness of the government was extended to him, and he was permitted to return to France, where he had the happiness to pass the remainder of his life in a peaceful retirement.

Amidst these savage immolations of political animosity, the eclipse of another luminary of the revolutionary cycle attracted the attention of mankind, and elicited mingled emotions of surprise and pity. Joachim, king of Naples, had joined the Allies after the battle of Leipzig, and assisted to drive the French forces out of Italy, for which timely service he had been guaranteed the possession of his dominions. But with these he was not contented, inheriting with his throne the traditionary ambition of the Neapolitan monarchs to extend their empire over the peninsula, and he particularly thirsted for the territory of the Church. In spite of all protests to the contrary, he continued to keep military possession of a large portion of that territory, and otherwise betrayed doubtful and ambitious designs, which excited the uneasiness of Austria, who had resumed all her old dominion in Italy. It is probable that, notwithstanding the guarantee previously given to him, which, although signed only by Austria, virtually bound all the Allies, he would have been dethroned by the Congress of Vienna as a distasteful anomaly in the new condition of Europe; but he prevented the necessity of any such breach of engagement by himself taking up arms, and declaring for the cause of Napoleon, the moment he heard of his successful progress through France upon his return from Elba. He was privy, doubtless, to the enterprise of the Emperor, but not implicated in it by any assurances of support; yet the intelligence so wrought upon his unsteady and excitable brain, that he forthwith put his army in motion, expelled the Pope from the city of Rome, and commenced hostilities by a sudden attack on the Austrians at Cesena on the 30th of March. His army consisted of 30,000 well-equipped

* Lavalette having been capitally convicted by the ordinary criminal court, was intended to be guillotined, a mode of death which he held in irrepressible horror. It may be remarked that he was, equally with Ney, entitled to the benefit of the capitulation of Paris; and that one of the principal reasons of Sir Robert Wilson for his strenuous efforts to save him, according to his celebrated letter to Lord Grey, was derived from his concern for the honour of England as compromised in that act. Political sympathies likewise prompted him to the generous enterprise.

troops; and he sought by proclamations to arouse the Italians in the cause of national independence; but his efforts in that respect were of little avail. He succeeded in advancing to the Po, from which his cowardly soldiers were speedily driven by the Austrians under Weippert, Bianchi, and Nugent, and hunted back beyond their own frontiers with the greatest celerity. The campaign was a mere repetition of Championnet's in 1798: the Neapolitans scarcely attempted any resistance, but fled like sheep before the Austrian bayonets. Murat strove in vain to induce the imperial commanders to grant him an armistice; they continued their pursuit without intermission; and so rapid had been the course of events, that on the 22d of May Naples itself was in their possession, and the Bourbon Ferdinand IV. proclaimed king. Murat escaped on board a vessel in the harbour, and shaped his course for Toulon, too happy to avoid capture by the British cruisers. Caroline, his queen, sought refuge with her children in a British man-of-war, and was conveyed to Trieste, according to an arrangement with the emperor of Austria. The same asylum was offered to Murat himself; but such was his restlessness and infatuation, that he preferred making an attempt to regain his kingdom, and accordingly left Toulon in a boat with two companions for the purpose. In this Quixotic expedition he was nearly swamped in a storm; but being picked up by a merchant brig, he was landed in Corsica. Here he bethought him he might strike a blow, and he raised the standard of revolt on the 18th of September at the head of 150 mountaineers. The French commandant issued a proclamation of outlawry against him, which producing a marked effect on his followers, he retired to Ajaccio, whence he sailed on the 28th, with about thirty persons, in two small vessels, bent on his original enterprise of revolutionising the kingdom of Naples. Although the coast was strictly guarded by a line of cruisers, he succeeded in landing near Pizzo in Calabria on the 8th of October, and straightway advanced into the town, crying out to the amazed inhabitants, 'I am your king, Joachim; it is your duty to acknowledge me!' His appeal met with no response, however; and being quickly surrounded by the military force in the neighbourhood, some of his men were killed, and he himself was taken prisoner. A military commission was at once appointed to try him, which, under a law of his own enactment, condemned him to suffer death. His firmness for a moment forsook him, but he recovered it at the place of execution. He refused to have his eyes bandaged; and confronting resolutely the soldiers drawn up to shoot him, he exclaimed to them—'Spare the face; aim at the heart!' He held in his hands miniatures of his wife and children, which he kissed passionately before the fatal shots were fired. Such was the end of Murat, the most renowned cavalry officer perhaps that has ever distin-

guished himself, but who possessed no merit of any other description. His personal vanity was purely ludicrous, leading him to indulge in gaudy and fantastic costumes, and to cherish notions of aggrandisement of the most extravagant character. He was a fitting emblem of that wonderful era, so full of strange vicissitudes and extraordinary mutations. Son of a village publican, he rose on the shifting surface of things to be a king and the brother-in-law of an emperor; faithless to the cause of his benefactor, he was yet ultimately involved in his ruin; and at last, impelled by sheer insanity, he died the death of a malefactor on a lonely strand by virtue of a law he had passed for his own protection!

It is a sad task to record the successive extinction of the glorious names which had filled the world with their matchless fame for a quarter of a century, but it is now the turn of the great Napoleon himself to be dismissed the scene. He had left Malmaison on his melancholy journey to Rochefort on the 2d of July, accompanied by a numerous suite of nearly forty persons—including Counts Bertrand, Montholon, and Las Cases; Savary, Duke of Rovigo; General Lallemand and Baron Gourgaud—and escorted by General Beker, the commissioner appointed to attend upon him by the Provisional Government. He reached Rochefort in the course of the following day, and here he first perhaps became aware of all the difficulties of his position. Immediately after the battle of Waterloo, the British Admiralty had placed numerous cruisers along the whole of the western coast of France, for the express purpose of intercepting him if he should attempt to escape across the Atlantic, as was supposed probable. The *Bellerophon* man-of-war, under the command of Captain Maitland, was stationed off Rochefort, with some smaller vessels, and kept vigilant watch on all egress from the harbour. To transport him to America, Napoleon had at his disposition two frigates, a brig, and a corvette; and the question was, whether he should put to sea, and endeavour to elude the blockade, fighting his way out if necessary, or seek some other mode of escape. It is true that he had another alternative open to him; he might rejoin the army, now falling back behind the Loire, and renew a desperate struggle, in which he might at least meet death with his sword in his hand; and it is certain that several communications passed between him and the chiefs of that army on this interesting point. But Napoleon seems to have been completely prostrated by his last crowning calamity, and to have been actuated almost entirely by a regard to his personal safety. If he braved the risk of continuing the war in the heart of France, he incurred the certain danger of suffering the last extremity of vengeance from the conquerors, by whom he would be treated in reality as a rebel to the lawful sovereign of the country. If he surrendered himself, he might

hope to be treated with some consideration, and be permitted at least to retire into private life, for which he professed to have now an exclusive desire. Again, if he attempted to escape out of Rochefort, and were captured, he would be clearly in the predicament of a prisoner of war, and at the mercy of the power into whose hands he fell. Thus he was distracted by opposing considerations; and he remained for several days in anxious deliberation as to what course he should pursue. At length, on the 10th of July, he determined upon opening a communication with Captain Maitland, and despatched Savary and Las Cases on board the *Bellerophon*, under a flag of truce, to ascertain whether the British commander would grant a safe conduct across the seas to the late Emperor of the French; to which a very decided negative was at once given. But a negotiation was thus commenced which gradually ripened into a more important one for the surrender of the person of Napoleon on board the *Bellerophon*, on condition that he should be taken to England, but without any pledge on the part of Maitland as to the manner in which he would be treated by the British government. Las Cases principally conducted this negotiation on behalf of the Emperor, and laboured hard to extract from the captain some positive undertaking on this head, but unsuccessfully, because his instructions were precise upon the subject, and he had no latitude of discretion left him. Therefore, although it was afterwards asserted by both Las Cases and Napoleon, and is repeated by the French writers, that Captain Maitland gave assurances which alone induced the act of surrender, there is nothing more untrue; and the undoubted fact is, that in the extremity of his fortune, and when reduced to scarcely any other alternative, of his own accord, and with his eyes open, the Emperor threw himself upon the generosity of the British government, which, he flattered himself, would be deterred by public opinion from acting with harshness towards him. Accordingly, he wrote on the 13th of July the following letter to the Prince-Regent:—

‘ROCHEFORT, *July 13, 1815.*

YOUR ROYAL HIGHNESS—A victim to the factions which distract my country, and to the enmity of the greatest powers of Europe, I have terminated my political career, and I come, like Themistocles, to throw myself upon the hospitality of the British people. I put myself under the protection of their laws: which I claim from your Royal Highness as the most powerful, the most constant, and the most generous of my enemies. NAPOLEON.’

This letter was forthwith despatched by Captain Maitland, who sent General Gourgaud as the bearer of it in a fast-sailing cutter, and on the 15th Napoleon repaired on board the *Bellerophon*, for the second time treading as an exile the deck of a British

ship of war, having previously been conveyed to Elba by the frigate *Undaunted*. He was received with marked distinction, but not with the honours paid to crowned heads; and as he accosted Captain Maitland on the quarter-deck, he said to him, 'I come to place myself under the protection of your prince and laws.' During the voyage to England he manifested great equanimity and even cheerfulness of temper, winning all with whom he conversed by that matchless power of fascination which he possessed so eminently, and exhibiting the greatest interest in the discipline and management of the ship, which he contrasted favourably with the noise and confusion he had remarked on board of French vessels. The *Bellerophon* arrived at Torbay on the 24th of July, and there the captain received the strictest orders to debar his captive from all communication with the shore; for which purpose no person was permitted to approach within three hundred yards of the ship, except seamen and officers belonging to her. Nevertheless such was the fever of curiosity excited to behold the illustrious exile, that the sea was crowded with boats for an immense distance around; and their eager occupants often broke through the cordon of guard-boats, incurring every extremity of danger for the chance of obtaining a glimpse of the Emperor, whose dreaded name had filled their ears for so long a period. Napoleon himself seemed to take pleasure in this extraordinary display of excitement, and often responded with bows to the loud huzzas with which he was greeted whenever his well-known form was descried.

Nothing excites among the generality of mankind a warmer interest than the spectacle or contemplation of fallen greatness; nothing tends so effectually to convert feelings of anger or resentment into a generous commiseration and sympathy, and assuredly history has no more striking example to arouse reflection than this of the deposed conqueror suing as a suppliant to the regent of England—an Alexander at the feet of a Sardanapalus—and speaking in the noble language it is so difficult for the human heart to resist. But for the future peace of the world it was perhaps fortunate, likewise peradventure for its ultimate happiness, that the rulers of England were at that time men insensible to the impulses of generosity, unless it may be said they were sufficiently generous in lavishing the national funds; but in the more exalted sense of the term they were lamentably deficient, and much more so of magnanimity, the strange quality ascribed to their ostensible chief by Napoleon in his famous letter. Yet in this chequered life even vices and failings sometimes serve for a beneficial end, since to minds of a more elevated cast the question of the disposition of Napoleon would have been doubtless a most difficult and painful one, embarrassing almost beyond solution, from the strong conflict between feeling and judgment.

With them there was no hesitation on the point; and it was at once determined that he should be detained a prisoner, a close prisoner, in some distant island where he might be securely guarded; and the rock of St Helena was fixed upon for the purpose. Against this decision the unfortunate Emperor protested most vehemently, claiming to be treated as a voluntary confider in the honour and humanity of the British government, which he denied to have any power over him by any recognised law, and demanding leave to reside in England if he were refused permission to go at large, and proceed, as he wished, to the United States. He even held out threats of committing suicide rather than be banished to a pestilential climate, which he was assured would speedily kill him; and three of his military attendants vowed that they would themselves despatch him before allowing him to suffer such indignity. But these protestations and threats were alike disregarded: he was removed on the 4th of August from the Bellerophon to the Northumberland, under the command of Sir George Cockburn, and, with the exception of Savary and Lallemand, who were not allowed to accompany him, as being proscripts of the French government, was conducted with his suite of attendants to the sequestered and tropical shores of St Helena.

In the execution of this terrible measure, at the same time, the British government bore only a share of the odium, although by far the largest and most prominent share, since it took upon itself the revolting office of jailer. Russia, Prussia, and Austria, concurred in this rigorous condemnation of Napoleon, and signed a convention with Great Britain, intrusting to her the safe custody of his person; but of the unworthy insults heaped on the fallen Emperor, England alone must bear the disgrace and the infamy.* It was a weakness undoubtedly in him, a very pitiable weakness, to cling with tenacity to his exploded sovereignty, and insist upon retaining the title and state of an Emperor, when he had ceased to be other than the effigy of one save in mighty reminiscences. It would have been much more noble to have voluntarily abjured

* Some of the London newspapers, such as the 'Morning Chronicle,' the chief organ of the liberal party, advocated warmly the cause of Napoleon; and the idea of applying for a writ of Habeas Corpus to bring him into the Court of King's Bench was seriously suggested and discussed. What issue the argument of so singular a motion might have produced it is impossible to tell, as the proposal was not carried into execution. Most of the other papers indulged in furious vituperations against him, and particularly the 'Times,' which then, as long afterwards, might be taken as the reflex of the general and even popular feeling in the country. In some of its articles at that time the most virulent expressions were used towards him—such as that of a rebel, who ought to be delivered up to the justice of his outraged sovereign; and of a criminal, who was amenable to the British law as the murderer of Captain Wright, whose melancholy fate in the Temple was then generally attributed to his direct agency. There is much interest and instruction to be drawn from these undoubted records of contemporaneous passions, more commemorative far than columns of Corinthian brass. What would be the value of a journal published the day after the assassination of Cæsar in the Capitol!

a dignity which hung upon him as a mere encumbrance when despoiled of the adventitious aids which impart to it consistence; and but that there is scarcely a doubt he persevered in his inconvenient pretension from a wish to vex and embarrass the British government when he found it so inexorably bent upon his banishment from the world, it must be set down as a littleness bordering upon extravagance. He might, it is true, see in his intermediate retention of the title a chance of its more substantial resumption at a future opportunity; but let the cause have been either perverse or designing, the point was one of too insignificant importance to contest with him, and it might with safety and credit have been conceded. But from the spirit which actuated them, and which was intended to rule his dolorous imprisonment, this was not to be expected from the cruel arbiters of his fate, and the concession was accordingly peremptorily refused. He was degraded to the rank and style of a general without any reasonable warrant for the substitution. The British government had distinctly acknowledged him as a First Consul, for it had made a treaty with him in that capacity; and although it was not a direct party to the treaty of Fontainebleau in 1814, it had accepted and acted upon that treaty, which contained an express recognition of his imperial designation and the vain honours it inferred. How, then, was he a general any more than an Emperor? The government that had given him the grade of general was not a *legitimate* government, according to the preposterous notions of the oligarchical politicians of that day, and had accordingly not been recognised as a government at all, so far as England was concerned. How came England, therefore, to confer upon him the title of general when she refused to render to him that at which she herself, and all Europe besides, had trembled for so many years? The question can receive none but a false or ridiculous solution; and the conduct of the British rulers upon this most melancholy occasion stands forth in unalloyed baseness as an instance of wanton and vulgar spite, as reprehensible as any of which the teeming memorials of history make mention, and which stamps upon their names an indelible shame and contumely.

Yet if the personal vanity of Napoleon might have been fitly soothed under his calamity by the application of a valueless designation, but which he still prized as a last relic of his greatness, his transportation from the European world was justified by absolute necessity, and by the prudential reasons which his own character too abundantly supplied. No faith could be placed in him, for he was dead to every obligation which interfered with his interest or his ambition; and had he been allowed the opportunity, he would, without scruple, have seized the first occasion to re-alight the flames of war, and strike any desperate blow to

realise again his dream of dominion. Hence his residence in England, where he proposed to settle down into a quiet country gentleman, or in America, where no restraint could have been imposed upon his actions, was really inadmissible with a view to the tranquillity of nations; for even if he himself had sincerely embraced a retired life, and been ever so much disposed to remain quiescent, his partisans would have been continually disturbing the government of France, and rendering possible a repetition of the bloody drama of the Hundred Days. But no rational doubt could be entertained as to the real views which animated him, or of his professions of a love of retirement being spurious and hollow; and the Allies, if they acted towards him with the full measure of severity, only adopted precautions which the dictates of simple prudence enforced upon them. His imprisonment on a far-distant island, whence it was scarcely possible he could escape, constantly guarded as it was by a cordon of British cruisers, might have been rendered less personally irksome and humiliating; a keeper of less stern and implacable temperament might have been assigned him than Sir Hudson Lowe, who has gained an unenviable fame by his harsh treatment of his illustrious captive; a more forbearing sympathy might have been extended towards those frailties of temper, those peevish ebullitions, to which the chafed Emperor gave way—but that his secure custody, out of the way of doing mischief, was linked with the essential interest of mankind, can never be dispassionately questioned. Accordingly, although the feelings of humanity will be always moved in his behalf when the last sad tale of him is told—for the weight of his misfortune will obliterate the remembrance of his misdeeds—yet the cool judgment must pronounce his doom justifiable and unavoidable.

Such was the final close of the career of the most extraordinary man the world has ever witnessed. Dioclesian descended from the highest of earthly thrones, and withdrew voluntarily into a philosophic seclusion; Charles V. preferred, to the splendours of empire, the penance and the gloom of a cloister; Napoleon was pulled from his domination by the strong arm of a united continent, and hurled into a sickly dungeon under the ban of mankind at large, a restless and unwilling captive! His fate has no parallel in earthly dispensations. How he bore it is a subject of curious interest; why he submitted to incur it is a topic of yet graver inquiry. When his sister Pauline, albeit a giddy and voluptuous woman, but very warmly attached to him, heard of the fatal battle of Waterloo, she said, 'Then my brother is of course dead.' In this expression she uttered the general persuasion that he ought to have died on that decisive day, which he himself often afterwards moodily repeated. But as he lacked the desperation to die on the field of battle, ought he to have

adopted the other alternative which in Cato has been so landed in the schools and universities of Christianity, and held up to ingenuous youth as a bright example of heroism! Assuredly not. Cato belonged to a school of philosophy which affected to view with indifference all the calamities of life, and yet took it himself away, to avoid the clemency of a generous conqueror; he was not true to his own principles, and, besides that he was a most tyrannical and intolerable personage, deserves all the opprobrium of a cowardly recreant. Napoleon cannot be said to have had any principles at all bearing particularly upon the subject; and with a pride at least equal to Cato's, he might have spurned to fall alive into an inveterate enemy's power. Still, in truth, the cast of Napoleon's mind was religious, and it was impossible that, with a comprehension so expanded as his, it should be otherwise: at times the devotional feeling was strong upon him, but without reference to any particular creed. Thus, whilst adhering outwardly to the faith of the Church of Rome, he partook rather the spirit of the Mohammedans, and acknowledging the all-ruling providence of a Deity, believed implicitly in the doctrine of predestination. Hence he was led more easily to resign himself to his lot, and to discard the idea of adopting violent means to avert it. It is true that at Fontainebleau in 1814 he made a serious attempt to poison himself, and was with some difficulty rescued from death; and that in the year following he at different times talked of committing suicide, but rather in the manner of a menace than with any decided intention of resorting to such an extremity. Upon the whole, whatever impressions might have been upon his mind to restrain him from raising a guilty hand against his own life—whether they arose from fortitude of resolution, from fatalist resignation, or from higher convictions—it is fortunate, for the sake of his terrible example, which might have otherwise lost half its moral, that they operated effectually with him, and reserved him for a living tomb, to pine away many days in sorrow, tribulation, and repentance.

CHAPTER XVIII.

THE SETTLEMENT OF EUROPE—MODIFICATIONS IN THE CHARTER—THE LEGISLATURES OF 1815, 16, 17, AND 18—THE KING AND HIS COURT—CONGRESS OF AIX-LA-CHAPELLE—EVACUATION OF THE FRENCH TERRITORY BY THE ALLIED ARMIES—1815 TO 1818.

The subversion of the French Empire operated with more or less effect upon the situation of every other power in Europe. In the year 1813, when the sovereigns of Russia and Germany sought to stimulate populations to patriotic exertions, they proclaimed the great objects of the war to be on their part the enfranchisement of nations, the reparation of wrongs, and the restitution of territories to their ancient possessors. They still reiterated these pompous professions in 1815, when startled from their work of adjustment at Vienna by the intelligence of Napoleon's landing, although in reality they had already commenced to set them at naught, and were almost on the point of coming to blows among themselves touching the appropriation of sundry rich spoils they held to be at their disposition. From this inglorious strife they were saved only by the common dread and horror they entertained of their old taskmaster, which again united them in bonds of amity and union. They marched against him, and covered France with their armies; in conjunction with England, they conquered him and expelled him from Europe; and thus they became truly the supreme arbiters of the whole continent. This was an extraordinary change for them, especially for the sovereigns of Austria and Prussia, who had been so long the slaves of the crushed Emperor, and had been accustomed to receive the law from him as his obedient vassals. It was sufficient perhaps to intoxicate wiser heads than theirs, and make them forget all the salutary lessons they had learnt by the events of the Revolution; certainly it effectually turned theirs, and revived in them all those notions of the olden time which had passed into exploded traditions, and reawakened in them the rapacity which had been the primitive cause of their earlier ruin. England was not at all backward in embracing the same views, although she was in appearance a little more disinterested; and the four leading States being agreed, they proceeded very composedly to parcel out as it seemed meet to them the different communities of Europe, precisely as Napoleon had done before them, and precisely after the manner for which they had so severely upbraided him. Thus it is that power corrupts the human heart, whether beating in the

breast of a long-descended monarch claiming to reign 'by the grace of God,' or in that of a plebeian upstart who asserts the mastery of the naked sword. With the reminiscences of the last twenty years fresh on their minds, these inflated potentates acted as if no such drama had passed before their eyes—as if populations were to be transferred like chattels bestial—as if the liberties of nations were dependant simply on the pleasure of rulers—as if, in short, the eighteenth century had not existed, and the palmy days of feudalism were still in the ascendant!

On the 9th of June 1815 was finally elaborated the famous act of the Congress of Vienna, which for many succeeding years regulated the position of the several European powers, and rearranged the territorial dislocations which had resulted from the conquests and creations of Napoleon. The main principle upon which it proceeded was, that all who had suffered grievously from France, or assisted materially to subdue her, should be largely indemnified and rewarded; whilst all, on the contrary, who had been benefited by her, and adhered faithfully to her alliance, should be despoiled and punished. In this latter category, of all the members of the Confederation of the Rhine the king of Saxony alone stood ranked, the others by a timely defection having won condonation. Upon him, accordingly, the anger of the Allies fell with revengeful force. After the battle of Leipzig he had been made a prisoner in his palace, and carried off to Berlin, whence he was removed to the castle of Friedrichsfeld, and there detained in confinement. Prussia, ever the most greedy of powers, claimed the cession of all his territories, and was supported by Alexander in her demand. It was opposed, however, by Austria and England; and finally Prussia was brought to be content with one-third of Saxony, which was extorted from the captive king as the price of his restoration to the remainder. Thus about 1,000,000 of Saxons, who had ever been warmly attached to their reigning family, and united in the closest ties with their countrymen, were ruthlessly severed from old connections, and handed over to this insatiable House of Brandenburg, whose princes had been engaged for a century in the constant practice of pilfering from their neighbours. Other 250,000 of them were in like manner transferred to the king of England, whose old electorate of Hanover was swelled by this and other acquisitions into the dimensions of a petty kingdom.

The fidelity of the king of Saxony being thus effectually chastised, the next monarch upon whom the vengeance of the Congress fell was the king of Denmark. This unfortunate prince had been forced into an alliance with Napoleon from his natural resentment against England for her seizure of his navy in 1807; and having adhered to his cause even after the tide of adversity set in against him, became amenable to punishment according to

the new code of the Allies. It was convenient also to inflict it, since, so far back as 1812, Bernadotte had been promised by Russia and England the possession of Norway in return for his withdrawing Sweden from the alliance with Napoleon; and this reward he loudly claimed on the additional strength of his more recent services. The king of Denmark accordingly was compelled to cede his ancient patrimony of Norway to Sweden, receiving, however, in exchange the detached province of Pomerania in Germany. The Norwegians, nevertheless, refused to be thus summarily disposed of, and prepared to resist this odious annexation. They offered the crown of Norway to Prince Christian of Denmark, and boldly proclaimed their independence. But their resistance was scarcely equal to this heroic front, and Bernadotte having invaded their country with an army of 20,000 men, soon reduced it to submission. A liberal constitution, analogous to that of Sweden, was given to it, however, and the union of the two countries was cemented on a basis leaving each independent of the other. As to the compensation of the king of Denmark, Pomerania was almost valueless to him, from its isolation from the rest of his dominions, and he willingly consented to gratify the all-absorbing lust of Prussia, by resigning it to her on condition of receiving in exchange the petty duchy of Lauenburg, which, again, had been severed from the new kingdom of Hanover. Such were the choppings and changes these monarchs made among populations, carving them off like joints of meat, and casting fragments about in merry and careless disport.

Truly these were halcyon days for potentates, such as it is probable they will not again enjoy. The emperor of Russia, who made great professions of disinterestedness and magnanimity, laid claim to the whole duchy of Warsaw as it had been constituted by Napoleon, but eventually agreed to give the duchy of Posen to Prussia, with the course of the Vistula from Thorn to Danzig, and the districts of Galicia to Austria, which had formerly belonged to her, setting up, moreover, the city of Cracow as a sort of independent republic, the last insignificant shadow of Polish nationality. The provinces which thus fell to him he proposed to erect into a kingdom separate from the crown of Russia, and to be governed upon something approaching to constitutional principles; that is to say, an approximation to the constitution of May 1791, which had been so perfidiously subverted by his grandmother and the father of the king of Prussia. It was certainly one of the phenomena of this extraordinary period, that an autocrat of the Russias should have been the most earnestly-disposed of all the monarchs to establish constitutional liberty in countries fitted to receive it; and that he would have given free institutions to Russia itself, if its inhabitants had been capable of accepting them. Such at least was his disposition at the present period,

when he still retained some of the generous emotions of his youth; but it was a heresy in the monarchical creed, of which he was soon weeded. Thus taking into account the immense acquisitions wrung from Turkey and Persia, the appropriation of Finland, and the annexation of nearly the whole of Poland, the Russian empire received an enormous aggrandisement at the close of the revolutionary war, and more than ever towered in colossal might above the States of its neighbours.

In the race of competition for spoils, Austria was neither the most backward nor the most modest. It was only natural that she should resume the Tyrol, and other provinces which Napoleon had taken from her and given to Bavaria. These she had taken, indeed, in 1813 by a separate convention with Bavaria, to whom she promised an adequate indemnity at the general peace, to be derived of course from the territories of others. But with these she was very far from being content, and aspired to obtain the whole of northern Italy in addition. Thus was seen how readily her appetite increased with the prospect of having it satisfied; for if Napoleon would have consented to restore to her the Illyrian provinces of Venice in 1813, she had offered to remain neutral, or even to join him with a contingent of forces. Now she would have not only Illyria and all Venice, but she would push her frontier to the western shore, and swamp both Piedmont and Genoa. But the whole of this audacious pretension was not allowed, and she was obliged to content herself with Lombardy and Venice, together with the valleys of the Valteline, the Bormio, and Chiavenna. The iniquity of the first seizure of Venice in 1797, under the agreement with Napoleon, was held to be covered by the lapse of time, and no compunction was felt at consummating its renewed absorption. Thus the Austrian empire likewise, after all its reverses, after all its immense concessions by the treaties of Lunéville, Presburg, and Vienna (1801, 1805, and 1809), in the end not only recovered the whole of her losses, but gained a large increase of territory and influence, especially in Italy, where she henceforth exercised an overshadowing preponderance.

But after all, it was certainly Prussia who contrived to gain the greatest extent of territorial enlargement. To the north she was doubtless somewhat curtailed by the loss of Warsaw, but for that she was richly remunerated by her acquisitions in Saxony and Pomerania. In addition, she got considerable portions of Westphalia and Franconia, extending by the former to the Rhine and beyond it, stretching to the east of that river for a space of seventy-five leagues. By her increase of territory and of population, which was swelled to upwards of 11,000,000, she became, what she had never been so completely before, a first-rate power, and obtained an enormous addition of real strength and impor-

tance. Possessing the principal ports in the Baltic, she had assured avenues of commerce; and although she might never aspire to become a naval power, she had all the resources to acquire the first rank as a trading and manufacturing State in Germany. Her geographical position also was materially altered, since by her advance beyond the Rhine she pushed to the very frontiers of France, whereby the latter was debarred for the future from pouring into Germany over the heads of a few petty princes, and must, in such an enterprise, come immediately in collision with her. With this change her political system also necessarily underwent a complete modification, for in former times she had been in some sort the natural ally of France, from her continual jealousy of Austria, whereas she had no longer any great reason of dissension with the latter, and was brought by direct contact into certain alienation from France. Thus from her utter prostration after Jena, she assuredly recovered more marvellously than any other power, and attained a station in Europe which secured to her an unwonted weight and consideration.

Next in importance to these three great powers was the new kingdom of the Netherlands, which comprised Holland, Belgium, Liege, and Luxembourg, all combined under the sway of the Prince of Orange, who received the regal dignity. This State served with its vast chain of fortresses as a strong curb on France to the north; whilst in the south the king of Sardinia was re-established in Piedmont and Savoy, with the addition of the city and territory of Genoa, forming a strong bulwark against her on the side of Italy. Spain had relapsed to her lawful king, Ferdinand VII., who, to mark his gratitude for the patriotic exertions of his subjects, deprived them of their constitution, restored the arbitrary power of the crown, and established the horrible sway of the Inquisition, who persecuted to the death the most noted of the liberals. In Germany the minor princes for the most part resumed their former dominions, but the ecclesiastical hierarchy remained annihilated. The German Confederation was reintegrated with many material modifications, by which a federative Diet was to be held at stated periods in the city of Frankfurt for the regulation of the affairs of the several States comprised in the Confederation, of which Austria was to hold the presidency. In Italy, the Pope was reinstated at Rome, and in all his former temporal sovereignty. At Naples the return of the old Bourbon king was hailed with acclamations; and no sooner was he seated on the throne, than he annulled the Sicilian constitution, which had been promulgated in 1812 under the guarantee of England. Tuscany and Modena fell again to Austrian archdukes, and the insignificant duchy of Parma was assigned to the Empress Maria-Louisa, with the reversion thereof to her son, whom she had brought into the world to inherit its most stupendous

empire, and whom 50,000,000 of people had hailed as their future sovereign.

England, notwithstanding her insular position, exerted an authoritative voice in the redistribution of Europe. This she was entitled to hold from her large participation in the successful issue of the struggle, from the enormous pecuniary sacrifices she had made to accomplish it, and from the actual state of grandeur in which she stood—being at the time beyond doubt the greatest and most powerful State in the world. From the first commencement of the war, owing principally to the insane violence of the Jacobins, she had been enabled to obtain on her more peculiar element, the sea, such a superiority as the French were never afterwards able to contest, and which, during the progress of the war, continued to increase until her supremacy upon the ocean was more absolute than that of Napoleon on land. From this supremacy she derived almost incalculable advantages. Every European colony in the whole universe was at her mercy, and she seized upon all she had the slightest cause to covet. All the most valuable of the French and Dutch possessions fell into her hands; and if she spared the Spanish, it was because she never recognised the Bonapartist government, and always considered herself as in alliance with the nation. But it was by the protection that she could thus afford to her commerce that she was most materially benefited, since upon it her resources to prolong the struggle almost entirely depended. In the East, especially, her naval predominance availed her not only to extend her commerce, but also to augment prodigiously her empire. One after one she subdued the native princes of the Indian peninsula, until she, a petty island in the remote Atlantic, seated herself on the throne of Akber in the imperial Delhi, and gave laws to 100,000,000 of human beings occupying the richest and fairest provinces of Asia. This acquisition, in itself so momentous and extraordinary, has led to other consequences which go on continually adding to the riches and strength of the British Empire. A fifth continent, teeming with every variety of mineral, animal, and vegetable wealth, situated in the temperate zone, at her very antipodes, has become hers by a colonisation which no other power could have undertaken or sustained, and destined in the end to be the most important and valuable of all the British possessions in either hemisphere. Hence nothing could exceed the prodigious development achieved by England during and at the close of the revolutionary war; and if it were commenced and prosecuted unwisely, if for a long period her ruin and subjugation seemed almost inevitable, if she incurred a vast expenditure which must for ever weigh heavily on her energies, she emerged, nevertheless, at last indomitable and triumphant, with a prestige around her of might, invincibility, and tenacity, such as

encircled Rome at the end of its deadly conflict with the Phœnician Carthage.

It is true she had concluded another war a short time previously, which, without inflicting any serious damage on her, had certainly in some degree weakened her reputation. The United States of America, which thirty years before had thrown off her dominion, were favourably situated for reaping advantages from the war which desolated the old world, and they had increased in an unexampled ratio of wealth and population during its continuance. The neutral carrying trade fell almost exclusively into the hands of their merchants and navigators, who derived immense profits from its successful prosecution. This trade was of course prejudicially affected by Napoleon's famous 'Continental System,' and yet more so by the retaliatory 'Orders in Council' issued by the British government, which had the effect of placing nearly the whole continent of Europe under blockade, and rendering seizable every vessel attempting to enter or leave any of its ports. The American congress retorted by passing a 'Non-Inter-course Act,' by which all commercial intercourse with either of the belligerent powers was prohibited, but which was levelled principally against England. A strong feeling of animosity was thus engendered among the American people at large, which was fomented by diplomatic altercations and by accidental collisions at sea, until a regular war-mania seized them, and they compelled their president, Mr Madison, who was personally inclined to a pacific policy, to declare war against England in June 1812. The United States were, nevertheless, very ill prepared to enter upon a war so far as regarded their military and naval forces; but they relied upon an easy conquest of Canada whilst the British troops were engaged in the Peninsular struggle. In this expectation they were very woefully deceived; and had the British government sent out sufficient armaments in the early part of the war, it is probable that terrible havoc might have been played upon the American shipping and seaports. But with the stupid pride which was its characteristic, it despised the affair as almost beneath its notice, and did not even condescend to insert the usual proclamation of war in the 'London Gazette,' having reached at this time so incredible a state of presumption, that it held a few crazy frigates would more than suffice to chastise the Americans, and compel them to sue for peace. In consequence, a series of most humiliating defeats was sustained by it, which occurring at sea in conflicts between individual ships, where the Americans, it is true, had generally the advantage in size and metal, caused a prodigious ferment not only in the two countries, but throughout Europe; which saw with surprise, but not with sorrow, that the boasted invulnerability of the British on the water was not quite incontestable. These discreditable hostilities between two nations

which, independently of their relationship, had every reason to live in harmony and the closest fellowship, were at length brought to an end in December 1814 by the conclusion of a treaty at Ghent, which left matters almost precisely as they were before the useless effusion of blood and treasure had taken place. At the same time, the United States gained considerable credit from the spirit and valour displayed in multifarious encounters by their soldiers and sailors, who had shown that they were fully competent to meet and cope with older and more disciplined competitors in arms; and they began from this time to draw upon them greater notice, and to be regarded as of essential gravity in the calculations of mundane politics.

The changes, therefore, wrought in the structure of the great powers of the world at the close of the revolutionary era redounded only to the disadvantage of France, who had at one time threatened to devour all the rest. She alone was reduced in size, whilst her rivals received all the additional strength and amplitude which territorial increments could impart to them. Her relative position, therefore, had materially deteriorated, and more than ever had she reason to complain of her disproportionate lot in comparison with the powers who had divided the ancient Poland amongst them, and thereby justified her in claiming to extend her former boundaries. Moreover, she was subjected to grievous pecuniary sacrifices, which wrung her intestine resources; and she was held in the iron grasp of 150,000 foreign soldiers, who kept watch upon her that she observed the peace. In every respect, consequently, she was truly prostrated, and made to suffer the extremity of humiliation; yet such is the careless and volatile disposition of the French people, that Paris never was so gay, brilliant, and prosperous as in the autumn of 1815. It was the head-quarters of all Europe in fact; scarcely any man of note or distinction in his country failed to hurry to this general rendezvous, where emperors, kings, princes, dukes, generals, mingled with statesmen, diplomatists, authors, to form such a concourse as eclipsed the remembrance of even Erfurth and Dresden.* Pleasure was the engrossing pursuit of all, and it was pushed to the wildest excesses. Heavy as the contributions levied on France might be, none of the money at least went out of the country, but rather, on the contrary, it flowed into it. The Grand Duke Constantine of Russia, and Blücher in particular, squandered enormous sums in gambling and extravagance; and their example was so far emulated, that almost all the foreign

* Sir Walter Scott was not the least illustrious of those who flocked to Paris at this period. Mr Alison, too, records that he then conceived, like Gibbon in the Coliseum, the idea of writing his history of the great events that produced the catastrophe he witnessed; but it is to be feared that his work will not have the immortality of the 'Decline and Fall.'

officers returned to their homes beggared. Upwards of two thousand English families of rank had flocked to this attractive scene of gaiety and dissipation, to which, from their number and lavish expenditure, they gave in a great measure the tone and fashion. Lord Castlereagh occupied the hotel of the British embassy, which, under the auspices of his wife, a woman of engaging and accomplished manners, became the chief resort of all the distinguished people in Paris. She threw open her saloons for grand receptions every evening, and they were crowded with dazzling assemblies. Amidst such boundless profusion and luxury, it was natural that the shopkeepers and tradesmen of Paris should benefit largely; and they rejoiced at a state of things which diffused such wealth and activity among them. Many large fortunes were made by men of that class in a very short period, and the whole flourished to an unprecedented extent. It was assuredly not their fault that they reaped this golden harvest from the extraordinary accumulation of strangers in the capital; but their exultation and prosperity contrasted odiously with the general gloom and misfortune, insomuch that it has been considered criminal in the eyes of their countrymen, particularly among the lower classes, to whom it was easy to represent them as thriving through the ruin of their country. Hence it is from this time that the *bourgeoisie*, or trading community of Paris, has been more or less the object of popular hatred, identified as it seemed to be with the lordly insolence of the conqueror, and enriched by the very slavery and impoverishment which ground the rest of the population to the dust.

Amidst the voluptuousness and riot in which the minor characters of this eventful drama revelled, turning the city of the conquered into a vast saturnalia, the three principal personages were remarkable for their simplicity and sobriety. Not only the exigencies of politics, but likewise a great similarity in tastes and characters, bound in the closest amity the three sovereigns of Russia, Prussia, and Austria. The first, still in the very vigour of manhood, possessed all the graces which are fitted most to captivate mankind, and his insinuating address has become almost proverbial. But beneath this glittering exterior he concealed great talents and some duplicity, with a considerable mixture of the enthusiastic and the visionary. He had thus fallen under the mystic sway of the famous Madame Krudener, who entranced him with reveries of perfectability; and he formed one of the strangest, and yet, at the moment, one of the noblest, conceptions that have ever occurred to men at the head of empires. The awful moral of the French Revolution doubtless weighed impressively upon his mind, and tinged with a religious melancholy the current of his thoughts. He perceived in the success of the allied cause the triumph of good principles over bad, the intervention of

a Divine Providence for the reward of virtue and the suppression of evil. It seemed to him that the powers of Christendom should unite themselves in a common league based upon evangelical principles, in which they should solemnly acknowledge God as the only sovereign of the earth, and his Divine word as declared in the Sacred Scriptures their only rule of conduct. Thus charity, good-will, and brotherhood, would become the standards and guides of human policy, nations would be bound together by the holiest ties, and a blessed peace would for ever remain to crown the pious union. Inspired by these ecstatic ideas, he sought to instil them into the colder and duller heads of his brother monarchs, who, if they failed to embrace his exalted views, were well content to gratify him by an apparent fervour of participation, and to join with him in yet more intimate relations. Thus arose that most singular piece of concord which afterwards operated so disastrously to the liberties of mankind, but which, at its origin, was assuredly founded in perfect honesty of purpose and in good faith. It was concluded by the three monarchs in their own proper persons without the intervention of their ministers, and it bore an invitation to all the other powers of the world to concur in it. It received the appropriate title of the *Holy Alliance*, and came eventually to include within its fold almost every State in Europe, with the exception of Great Britain, whose Regent expressed his approbation of its design, but alleged a constitutional barrier to his formal accession. It eventually grew to be a league of sovereigns against peoples, for the maintenance of despotic authority and the extinction of public freedom—so liable to perversion are all human actions, even those based upon the purest motives of religion and philanthropy!

Before finally separating, the plenipotentiaries of the four great powers renewed by a formal act their previous treaty of Chaumont concluded on the 1st of March 1814, by which they contracted the mutual obligations of an offensive and defensive alliance to uphold the state of things established in Europe, and particularly in France, founded upon the maintenance of the royal authority and the Constitutional Charter, to the perpetual exclusion of Napoleon Bonaparte and his family from supreme power. This treaty they communicated to the ministers of France in an elaborate note, in which they did not ask for the formal adhesion of His Most Christian Majesty; but they laid before him an exposition of those views by which they deemed he ought to conduct his government, for the better preservation of order, tranquillity, and 'his constitutional authority.' From this emphatic exhortation it is apparent that the Allies considered the establishment of constitutional liberty, at least in France, as the best preservative against future discontents and troubles. At the same time they distributed amongst themselves and their

minor confederates the amount of indemnity to be paid by France, assigning out of the sum nearly 200,000,000 francs for the erection and repair of fortresses on the various frontiers of France, thus making her pay for the bulwarks reared against herself. The whole amount of 700,000,000 was to be discharged by the French Exchequer in the space of five years by quarterly instalments of 46 $\frac{2}{3}$ millions each, so distributed as to be payable in daily quotas upon negotiable drafts for different sums; by which convenient, but rather singular arrangement, France had to make a daily contribution, for the period of five years, of nearly £16,000 sterling, supplying to her financiers a diurnal memento of her subjugation.*

With regard to this Constitutional Charter which Louis XVIII. was so earnestly recommended by his considerate allies to observe, some important modifications had been made in it by the king. In the first place, the number of deputies was increased from 262 to 395, and the age of eligibility was reduced to twenty-five, the qualifications for a deputy being the payment of 1000 francs yearly of direct taxes, that of an elector the payment of 300 francs. By a royal ordinance the Chamber of Peers also was remodelled. Twenty-nine peers who had sat in the Chamber of the Hundred Days were excluded, among whom were Marshals Lefebvre, Ney, Suchet, Moncey, and Mortier, and ninety-three new peers were created, principally taken from the old nobility, and including also the princes of the blood-royal, making the number in all 210. By another ordinance, dated the 19th August, the peerage was rendered hereditary from male to male in the order of primogeniture in the direct line of the actual peers or of those who might be thereafter created. The elections for deputies were appointed to take place in all the departments on the 22d of August, and the session of the legislature to be opened on the 7th of October.

Although the very recent election of deputies under Napoleon had resulted in the return of a large majority of liberals or even republicans, so sudden and complete were revulsions of feeling in France, that upon this occasion the Royalists prevailed in most of the departments. In many parts of the south, as at Marseilles, Avignon, Toulouse, Nismes, fearful riots took place, in which royalist mobs were incited to monstrous atrocities. Marshal Brune, who commanded the military district of Marseilles, was seized by the brutal populace at Avignon, and killed with circumstances of horrible barbarity. At Marseilles the illustrious Massena happily escaped the murderers who were in pursuit of him; but a friend of his, one of the chief inhabitants of that city,

* From a curious table compiled by Montgaillard (t. viii. p. 306), it appears that from the pacification of Vervins in 1598 to 1815, a period embracing 218 years, France had been engaged in wars 118 years, and in peace only 100.

M. Angles-Capefigue, was cut to pieces by a thousand sabres.* For a whole night and day the massacre continued at Marseilles, being directed by the furious assassins against all who were denounced as Jacobins, and against retired officers of the army. At Nismes and Toulouse the disturbances took a religious character, and the popular rage was exerted against the unfortunate Protestants of those cities. Several of them were slaughtered, and their houses pillaged and burned to the ground. General Ramel, military commandant at Toulouse, was murdered in his bed by a horde of miscreants, who burst into his house in the dead of night; at Nismes General Lagarde was severely wounded by a gun-shot when attempting to protect the opening of a Protestant chapel. These atrocities, which were so discreditable to the royalist cause, were never punished or even inquired into, notwithstanding the instances of the allied sovereigns, who expressed the utmost horror and indignation at them; the British government, in particular, interesting itself warmly to protect the persecuted Protestants. In truth, the prefects who were ordered to take the necessary proceedings were either keen royalist partisans, or were afraid to do their duty; and thus no punishment was ever inflicted on the authors or instigators of these barbarous crimes.

Upon the first return of Louis XVIII. in the wake of the Anglo-Prussian army, it had been his object to repair as far as possible the error mainly alleged against his former government, and to seek the support of men who bore upon them the revolutionary stamp. With this view he had thrown himself into the hands of Talleyrand and Fouché; but soon the Royalists, with the Count d'Artois at their head, began to murmur at the ministry being intrusted to such personages, and especially Fouché, who, in addition to other bad antecedents, laboured under the stigma of having voted for the death of Louis XVI. Accordingly, his intrigues to propitiate the favour of Monsieur through his favourite Vitrolles were of little avail, and he was assailed in the antechambers of the palace with audible execrations of *A bas le régicide!* Seeing his chance hopeless in that quarter, he turned to his more natural allies the liberals, and in conjunction with Manuel, an able and enthusiastic member of that party, composed two reports for the private perusal of the king: the one directed against the extortionate conduct and demands of the Allies, the other containing a picture of the internal troubles and factions which distracted the country, and pointing out how essential it was for the king to separate himself

* The Abbé Capefigue, one of the few truly honest men who have in these days written what is called history in France, relates with simple but touching pathos the murder of this near relative of his, which took place when he was himself a child.—*Hist. de la Restor.*, t. 1. p. 411.

from the counter-revolutionary movement in progress. There was nothing in these reports offensive or untrue, and Louis XVIII. approved of them; but Fouché published them without either his sanction or that of his colleagues, who were indeed ignorant of their existence. It was evident that his intention in this act was to invest himself with all the influence he could derive from an identification with the national or liberal party, and it gave of course deep umbrage to the king. The Royalists were incensed to fury against him, and loudly insisted upon his dismissal, to which M. de Talleyrand himself was not disposed to offer any very strong objections. Louis agreed willingly enough; and on the 19th of September he was dismissed from his post of minister of police, receiving, however, the appointment of French ambassador at the court of Dresden. It was with some difficulty he reached this destination, deeming it advisable to travel out of the kingdom in disguise, for fear of the royalist vengeance being wreaked upon his person. A few months afterwards he lost his embassy through a new law of proscription against regicides, and he accepted an asylum from the Austrian government at Trieste, where, at the end of four years, he terminated his miserable career, leaving behind him the reputation of a man, as a modern historian well observes, 'endowed with a spirit of intrigue, a perversity of heart, and a falseness of soul, such as few men in any age have possessed in the same degree of intensity.'*

A partial mutilation, even that of a gangrened member, is always dangerous to the stability of a ministry, and was fatally so to one like that of M. de Talleyrand, against which such powerful influences were at work. The king was by no means prepossessed in favour of his prime-minister, and he was always ready to lend a favourable ear to reports and insinuations against him. He disliked him because he had been, as it were, forced upon him; and he often said to those in his intimacy, 'M. de Talleyrand has the cards in his favour at present, but I retain my suit.' When, therefore, the result of the elections in favour of the Royalists was known, he listened yet more complacently to the instigations of the Pavillon Marsan, as the D'Artois coterie was called, and he determined to take the first opportunity for getting rid of the Talleyrand ministry. In fact its displacement was almost inevitable, from the difficulties with which it was surrounded, arising as well from the unsatisfactory negotiations with the allied powers, as from the hostile complexion of the new legislature. The dismissal of Fouché, which caused two vacancies in the administration, as the ministry of the interior had never been filled up, paved the way for a dissolution of the whole cabinet, since it became necessary to replace it altogether, or to

* Mont. Hist. de France, t. viii. p. 277.

essentially remodel it. Louis XVIII. gladly preferred the former course; and with exquisite dissimulation prepared to enact the scene with his ministers which has been related, and which led of course to their immediate resignation.

It was with considerable reluctance that the Duke de Richelieu consented to become the head of a new administration, for in the circumstances of France at the time there was but little to render desirable the management of her affairs, and the violent spirit manifested by the Royalists threatened greatly to embarrass the future course of any government. He yielded, however, to the personal solicitations of Louis and Alexander; and having been himself an emigrant, he might reasonably hope that the royalist party would repose in him a necessary confidence, and refrain from offering to his policy an obstructive resistance. The colleagues he selected were of a mixed character, but principally of the royalist complexion, since some were recommended by the Count d'Artois himself. Count Barbé-Marbois was chancellor; Count Vaublanc, the old Girondin of the Convention, minister of the interior; Clarke, Duke de Feltre, minister of war; Dubouchage, minister of marine; Count Corvetto, minister of finance; in fine, Decazes, minister of police. This latter personage had contrived to render himself particularly agreeable to the king, and he filled to a great extent the post of a royal favourite. Such was the improved ministry with which Louis XVIII. prepared to meet the new legislature of 1815.

On the 7th of October the session was opened by him in person, accompanied by all the princes of his family. The speech he delivered on the occasion had been prepared with extreme care, and it was assuredly difficult for him to address the Chambers in the distressing situation of France. This situation he naturally deplored as the result of the recent usurpation, and trusted it would soon be ameliorated by an agreement with the powers which occupied so large a portion of his kingdom. The calamities of his subjects afflicted his heart, and to relieve them, he had spontaneously relinquished a considerable part of his civil list, and ordered great reductions in the services of the government. He rejoiced in the assurance that a cordial feeling would subsist between the Chambers and the crown, founded on respect for the Constitutional Charter: 'That charter which I deeply pondered before granting it,' he said, 'and to which reflection daily more attaches me; which I have sworn to maintain, and which you all, commencing with my family, will take an oath to obey; which is doubtless, like all human institutions, susceptible of improvement; but none of us ought to forget, that after the advantage of amending stands the danger of innovating.' A mournful applause greeted his words, for a sentiment of the deepest sadness oppressed the Assembly, which was for a moment relieved by the Count

d'Artois and all the princes of the blood advancing towards the king, and with their hands outstretched, pronouncing, in an emphatic tone, the oath to observe the Charter. This solemn and renewed adherence by D'Artois to an act he in reality detested was extremely repugnant to that personage, and had been imposed upon him by the joint injunctions of Louis and the allied sovereigns, who considered it expedient for the public satisfaction. It elicited, nevertheless, vehement acclamations from the Chambers, the members of which repeated the oath with ardour. Two of the peers, however, Jules de Polignac and Labourdonnaye, declined to take it, on the ground that they had scruples touching the provision for religious freedom, which was incompatible with the pre-eminence due to the Catholic faith. This declaration occasioned considerable excitement, and gave rise subsequently to a long debate, in which the Count d'Artois had the imprudence to take part with the recusant peers, and to extol their conduct as springing from the most pure and exalted motives.

It is a striking proof of the force of that reaction which seemed for the moment to have extinguished both Imperialists and Republicans, that the Chamber of Peers was infinitely less royalist in its tendencies than the Chamber of Deputies. More than half the members of the latter were pure Royalists; men from the provinces inspired with a deadly hatred of the Revolution, of its actors, and of its capital—Paris. They were sincere in their religious and political principles, but were animated by a zeal which often led them to the worst ebullitions of fury. Another section of Royalists represented the Pavillon Marsan, and acted under the influence of the Count d'Artois. In it the names of Vitrolles, Armand de Polignac, Juigné, Boisgelin, were the most eminent. A few scattered men belonged to the majority, without being absolutely of it—that is, without being approved Royalists free from all suspicion; and of these perhaps the most conspicuous was M. de Bourrienne, who had been long the secretary of Napoleon, and who enjoyed but an indifferent reputation either for consistency or for integrity. The minority, for it could scarcely be called an 'opposition' in the parliamentary sense, mustered scarcely seventy members, and was led principally by Royer-Collard, Pasquier, Serres, and Becquey. It was in reality constitutionalist, and more in accordance with the ministry than the majority, since both were animated by the same spirit of moderation and limited liberalism. Of the Imperialists and Republicans, who had jointly assumed the title of Patriots, there were only two representatives in the Chamber—MM. Flaugergues and d'Argenson. The *Provincials*, therefore, as they were generally designated, ruled the Assembly, and the chief among them were MM. de Villele, Bonald, Corbieres, and Grosbois. They dreamed of the reconstruction of the old monarchy in all its essential features, and of the redistribution of

the kingdom into provinces, in order to destroy the predominance of Paris; holding also peculiar views on the union of the upper and lower classes, to be effected somewhat after the manner of feudalism, but without its vassalage, or after the system of patron and client in the fading days of republican Rome, and to be arrayed against the body of the middle or trading classes, whom they regarded with disdain and hatred. These ideas have been reproduced in the neighbouring country of England, where a party had an ephemeral and somewhat ridiculous existence in the House of Commons, very scanty in numbers, but respectable for a very varied talent, and which gave advocacy to similar retrogressive notions, assuming the fantastic and incongruous appellative of 'Young England.'

In the Chamber of Peers the complexion of parties was essentially different. In it M. de Richelieu had a decided majority, which was so far a check upon the violent tendencies of the royalist deputies. But a strong minority mustered under the auspices of the Count d'Artois, who took an active part in the proceedings of the Assembly. Under his standard fought the illustrious Chateaubriand, who was at that time in the hottest fervour of his devotion to the Bourbons. Counts Molé and Lally-Tollendal led the more liberal fraction of the Chamber, which existed only in diminutive force. The deputies voted an address in answer to the speech from the throne, in which they sufficiently indicated the spirit prevailing among them. The king had recommended clemency and oblivion as the surest means of composing the distractions of the country; but this doctrine they repudiated, and held that mercy had been carried too far, urging it as a solemn duty to deliver up to justice those who had placed the throne in danger. Hence they called upon the king to cast aside this misplaced clemency, and to vindicate the outraged laws by at once consigning the guilty 'to the just severity of the tribunals.' Thus when the government was desirous of acting with a wise lenity, it was prevented from doing so by the passions of its own most zealous supporters; and it is a fact that the difficulties of the Restoration, sufficiently great of themselves, were materially aggravated by the damning exigencies of those who plumed themselves as its truest friends and defenders.

If the legislative labours of the Chambers in the session of 1815-16 were not peculiarly arduous, they possessed at all events an unsavoury character. *1st*, By a censorship the periodical press was to be fettered, ever so prone in France to outrageous licentiousness; *2dly*, Acts of vengeance and precaution were to be taken against the criminal and the seditious; *3dly*, Heavy taxes were to be imposed to meet the national engagements. With regard to the press, Fouché himself had, by two royal ordinances of the 20th July and 8th August, already placed it under such stringent restrictions,

that even the Chamber of Deputies was satisfied with them, and allowed them to continue. In the second category, four extraordinary measures were taken which strikingly demonstrate the violence of the reactionary spirit in the majority. These were a law very much like the famous law of the suspected passed by the Convention, whereby all persons accused of crimes or offences against the person and authority of the king, or the royal family, or the security of the State, might be apprehended and kept in detention until the end of the next session of the legislature, without the benefit of trial, unless by permission of certain functionaries named in the act. Secondly, a law nominally against seditious cries, but of a very extensive and revengeful character. All persons guilty of uttering cries, speeches, or writings implying threats of a conspiracy against the king or the persons of his family; of stimulating to arms against the royal authority; of provoking directly or indirectly the overthrow of the government, or a change in the order of succession to the throne; whether or not any consequences should follow such offences, whether or not they should be connected with any actual plots; or, in fine, *of exhibiting any other flag than the white flag*, should all be punished by transportation. Other provisions assigned terms of imprisonment varying from three months to five years, together with pecuniary fines for a multitude of minor transgressions, which rendered it difficult for any obnoxious person to steer clear of its scope and penalties. In the discussion of this law the royalist deputies displayed a fury which fully rivalled that of the old Jacobins in their wildest paroxysms. The measure itself had been forced upon the government, which proposed through Marbois, keeper of the seals, that the extreme punishment under the law should be imprisonment; but upon being referred to a committee, the heavier punishment of transportation was substituted. Even this excessive severity failed to satisfy the majority of the Chamber, who with indecent shouts demanded the extreme penalty of death. '*La mort! La mort!*' they cried; 'too long have criminals been caressed instead of being chastised! They ought to be treated as parricides!' After indulging in this deplorable ebullition for some hours, the Chamber finally cooled down into a more sober state, and accepted the compromise proposed by the committee.

It might not have availed much to pass laws of this description if the ordinary courts and juries were left to try persons accused under them, or if the ordinary rules of evidence were to be observed as regarded them. Hence, like the Jacobins in 1793, the Royalists now established their tribunals for the more swift and certain condemnation of prisoners. They were called Provostal Courts, and were a revival in some measure of the old courts of the provost-marshals. One of such courts was estab-

lished in each department, and had attached to it a provost, who was appointed by the minister at war, and who was almost universally a military officer of the old régime. The function of this personage was to seize and drag before the provostal court all whom he supposed disaffected, engaged in plots against the government, or chargeable under the law of seditious cries. The court itself was composed of a president and judges nominated by the chancellor, and was not trammelled by the intervention of a jury. At the same time a ramified system of courts-martial was matured under the minister of war, for the benefit of offenders of a military stamp; and these two jurisdictions soon came into active play, and diffused a consternation through the country which recalled the worst days of the Jacobin terror. In almost every town a royalist committee was organised, which maintained a constant communication with the central power in Paris, the Pavillon Marsan. The action of the government was absolutely paralysed through these committees, which usurped all the functions of authority in their different localities. Through their means every office under the crown was placed in the hands of an undoubted Royalist; and from the judicial bench and magistrature especially, all were dismissed whose conduct or principles were thought to be ever so slightly tainted. The real intentions of Louis XVIII. and the Duke de Richelieu were thus completely thwarted; but from fear of the tyrannical majority in the Chamber of Deputies, which they were apprehensive might refuse to vote the budget, they were obliged to acquiesce, and wink at proceedings they entirely disapproved. The Count d'Artois was the veritable monarch of France, and he assumed all the outward consequence derivable from his influential position. In such disfavour, indeed, was Louis XVIII. held, that but for the foreign powers, it is probable he would have been compelled to abdicate; and a serious project has been attributed to the Royalists of the south, who were farther removed from such intimidation, of intending to erect a separate kingdom for the Duke of Angoulême, under the title of the Kingdom of Aquitaine, to be possessed by him until he succeeded to the throne of France.

By a fourth measure the Royalists obliged the king to violate at once his reiterated pledges, and the Constitutional Charter they themselves had so recently sworn to observe. This was in regard to what was called the Law of Amnesty, but which was in reality a law of proscription. By the first article of this law, all persons compromised in the late rebellion and usurpation of Napoleon Bonaparte were fully and entirely amnestied, with the exceptions after-mentioned. *First*, those comprised in the ordinance of the 24th July, all of whom the king was empowered to banish from the kingdom, with the loss of their goods and civil rights. *Secondly*, Napoleon and all his family and connections in the remotest de-

gree were to be for ever exiled from France, with the loss of all civil rights, and liable to suffer death if found within the French territory. *Thirdly*, all regicides who voted for the Additional Act, or accepted functions or employments under the usurper, were for ever expelled from the kingdom, with the total loss of their civil rights, incapacity to hold property, and the confiscation of all pensions or grants they enjoyed. This last exception was in direct contravention of the Charter, which, founding upon the benignant pardon of his murderers by Louis XVI. in his celebrated will, guaranteed the regicides from every prosecution or molestation. It was warmly contested by the ministry, but ultimately carried against it, although actually involving an infraction of the royal prerogative, to which alone was assigned the right of initiating legislative enactments. Several very eminent men, whom the Royalists themselves respected, fell under the terms of this exclusion; and of these the most distinguished were Carnot, who had been a director of the republic, and Cambaceres, who had been Second Consul, and afterwards Arch-Chancellor of the Empire under Napoleon.

On the question of the budget also they exhibited a refractory and exacting conduct. It was the most difficult of all brought under discussion by the government, and occupied the attention of the Chambers for upwards of four months. It was divided into ordinary and extraordinary, the latter having reference to the engagements contracted under the treaty of the 20th of November. In the first, the expenditure for the year 1816 was set down as 548,252,520 francs (£22,000,000 sterling),* and the income as 570,454,940 francs (£23,000,000 sterling). The extraordinary expenditure was calculated to be 290,800,000 francs (£11,600,000 sterling), and the income 269,400,000 francs (£10,800,000 sterling)—the excess of the ordinary being applied

* The items of this expenditure, being the ordinary disbursements of the year were as follow:—

Public Debt (perpetual life annuities and pensions),	125,500,000 francs.
Civil List,	25,000,000 ...
Royal Family,	9,000,000 ...
Chamber of Peers,	2,000,000 ...
Chamber of Deputies,	700,000 ...
Administration of the Law,	17,000,000 ...
Foreign Affairs, Ambassadors, &c.	8,000,000 ...
Home Department,	51,000,000 ...
Departmental Expenses,	23,930,520 ...
War Department,	180,000,000 ...
Navy,	48,000,000 ...
General Police,	1,000,000 ...
Finance Department,	16,000,000 ...
Interest on Deposits,	8,000,000 ...
Expenses of Treasury Negotiations,	12,000,000 ...
Sinking Fund,	20,000,000 ...
Interest on Current Royal Bonds,	1,122,000 ...
Total,	548,252,520 francs.

to make up the deficiency of the extraordinary. To raise these immense sums, the government proposed to levy several new indirect taxes, and to increase by one-half the existing direct taxes. These were of course very unpalatable propositions; but being imperative under the circumstances, they were for the most part sanctioned—the opposition being directed to what might be called the political features of the budget. The imperial government had left an old outstanding arrear of debt, which was acknowledged under the first Restoration, and for the liquidation of which certain forests were specifically assigned. The greater part of the forests had formerly belonged to the clergy, and the Royalists now insisted that they should revert to their original possessors. As for the arrear itself, notwithstanding the existence of a law passed on the 23d of September 1814, providing for its security, they argued that it should be repudiated altogether, as the debt of an illegal and usurping government. To this the king and the ministers were vehemently opposed, as involving a gross breach of national faith; but they were obliged in the end to submit to a nauseous compromise. Three years had been allowed for the definitive settlement of this arrear, which were now increased to five, so that the question was in reality adjourned until 1820. Touching the forests, it was agreed that they should not be sold, and that they should, moreover, be relieved from specific hypothecation, whereby a great step was made towards their ultimate restoration to the clergy. Thus another material point of the Constitutional Charter was infringed, and the king again compelled to violate the solemn pledge he had given in the previous year of upholding as sacred all the existing debts of the State.

But the subject that excited the greatest interest in this session of the legislature, was the project of an electoral law introduced into the Chamber of Deputies by the minister of the interior, M. Vaublanc. By his ordinance of the 13th of July, convoking the new Chamber, the king had modified the provisions of the Charter as to the election and constitution of the representative body, leaving them to be hereafter finally settled by a legislative enactment. Consequently a new scheme was submitted by the government in virtue of its right to initiate laws. In this it was proposed to have an electoral college in each canton, comprising the sixty highest taxed men of twenty-five years old in the canton, together with the members of the arrondissement-councils, judicial and other functionaries, the clergy of all denominations, the rectors and inspectors of schools, &c. This cantonal college nominated electors of the department, to whom were joined the sixty persons in the department who paid the highest taxes above 300 francs (£12) yearly, and were thirty years of age. In addition, the archbishops and bishops, the presidents of all the courts, the members

of the council-general of the department, and other superior functionaries, were to be members of this departmental college, which nominated deputies to the Chamber. These deputies were to be of the mature age of forty years, and to pay 1000 francs yearly of direct taxes. By such a constitution of the colleges the ministerial influence was almost necessarily rendered paramount in all elections, the more especially as it was proposed to have them periodically, in fractions of a fifth, which would give great additional control to the government.

It was the singular peculiarity of this measure that it was framed chiefly with a view to emancipate the king and his government from the tyranny of the ultra-Royalists, who were not slow to detect its import. They accordingly assailed it with the bitterest hostility, and advocated in lieu of it a much more popular system of representation, presenting a spectacle by no means new in the history of parties, wherein their natural positions are reversed, and from momentary exigencies they belie their several principles. Thus the liberals in the Chamber supported the government proposition, and Royer-Collard, in particular, stood forth as a stanch advocate of the royal prerogative. Upon this point it was clear the legislators were in a strange dilemma. By the Charter, the initiation of laws was left to the king; but if, when a project was presented from his council of ministers, it might be so altered as completely to change its character, this reservation became purely illusory; yet if no amendments were to be permitted, the legislature sunk to the level of an old registration-parliament. The royalist majority resolved the problem in its own favour, contending that it possessed the power of amendment in an unlimited degree; and despite all the protestations of the ministers, proceeded to act upon that assumption. The measure being referred to a committee, it underwent an almost total transformation in its treatment, and was produced in its new shape to the Chamber by M. de Villele.

In this amended project the constitution of the electoral colleges was strictly limited to tax-payers, the adjunction of functionaries as such being wholly negatived. The cantonal colleges were to consist of all citizens domiciliated in the canton, aged twenty-five years, and paying fifty francs of yearly taxes. These chose the electors of the department, who were never to be below 150 or above 300 in number, and must pay 300 francs yearly of direct contributions. If the requisite number of such contributors could not be obtained, the number was to be completed from those paying in the next highest proportion, being thirty years of age. In these departmental colleges the deputies were nominated, who must be forty years old, and pay 1000 francs yearly in direct taxation. The Chamber was to be elected for five years, during which period it continued to exist, unless pre-

viously dissolved by the king; and it could be renewed only in totality—that is, by a new general election.

The ministerial scheme was thus materially altered, and, it must be added, improved; for not only was the basis of the suffrage extended, but the electoral colleges also were rendered more independent of undue influences. Yet it was from no love of popular liberties that the Royalists assumed at this time the character of reformers; but from their powerful organisation throughout France, they relied upon directing public opinion in their own favour, and gaining a still more complete victory over the government in the next Assembly. What retrogressive measures they might then take, whether they would stop short of reconstructing the old monarchy, was doubtful; but from the spirit hitherto displayed by them, it was certain that lenity, forbearance, or moderation could scarcely be expected from them. In the discussions upon the two projects, great stress was laid by their orators on the necessity of having elections general, and not partial. 'The partial renewal,' exclaimed amid great applause M. Clausel de Coussergues, 'answers the purposes only of tyrants; thus it was commenced by the Convention, and continued by Bonaparte. Tyrants dread public opinion, and they direct all their arts to prevent its simultaneous expression. But the wisdom of a legitimate king consists in allowing the real opinions of his people to be freely manifested.' In the mouthing of such excellent sentiments may parties occasionally indulge, being the same which they have at all other times ignored, and peradventure denounced as criminal and treasonable!

By a large majority the Chamber of Deputies adopted, with sundry unimportant modifications, the amended project of its committee, thus assuming an attitude of insulting hostility against the king, his asserted prerogative, and his government. It remained for the president of the council, the Duke de Richelieu, to decide whether he would succumb to its dictation, or take steps to neutralise or get rid of its intractable opposition. It was easy for him to induce the Chamber of Peers to reject the law as passed by the deputies; but as the latter would not abate their pretensions, it was necessary at the same time to abandon the measure altogether; and this was in fact the result of the affair. Thus France was left without any electoral law but such as had been propounded by the king in his Charter of 1814, and his supplemental ordinance of the 13th of July 1815. In this unsatisfactory state constitutional freedom was in constant jeopardy, since the crown remained invested with an organic authority which might be at any time used for the subversion or comparative nullification of the constitution. And in truth, at this period the distinction between the legislative functions and the bare prerogative of royalty was very inaccurately defined; for even

during the sitting of the Chambers royal ordinances were frequently issued on matters which should more properly have been the subjects of legislative enactment.

Of these, two, which emanated from Vaublanc, who, of all his colleagues, was the most a tool of the Pavillon Marsan, were strongly indicative of the reactionary spirit of the times. The French Institute was one of the republican establishments which had received the greatest encouragement from Napoleon, and was illustrious for the fame of its members in science, literature, and arts. As such, it fell under the enmity of the Royalists, and it was abolished by a royal ordinance. In its place were re-erected the old Royal Academies, which are very dear, doubtless, in remembrance to the student and the scholar, but which had perished from the popular memory, and were odious as mementos of a bygone system. Thus reared again their heads the Académie Française, the Academy of Inscriptions and Belles Lettres, the Royal Academy of Sciences, the Royal Academy of the Fine Arts, and from them all regicides and other political offenders were carefully removed. This measure afforded an opportunity not only of wreaking revenge on enemies, but of rewarding friends, since the appointment of the new academicians was exercised by the crown, and the honour was one of the most keenly coveted. Literary or scientific attainments were not so much considered in candidates as their services of a political character; and among the names of the successful aspirants were those of Lally-Tollendal, Talleyrand, Lainé, Montesquiou, and Richelieu: all very eminent men undoubtedly, and some even of liberal principles, but not distinguished in the world of letters.

The National Guards were essentially revolutionary, and had not found much favour in the eyes of Napoleon, who converted all such as he maintained into regular soldiers. During the Hundred Days a renewed organisation of them had been attempted; but the rapidity of events rendered them of no avail in supporting his recovered throne, or in stopping the tide of conquest. It had been better perhaps for the Bourbons if they had allowed the institution to subside; but seeing in it a lever of the royalist cause, they maintained it, hoping to mould it into an instrument of their own power. With this view the Count d'Artois was appointed colonel-general of all the National Guards of France, and the nomination of the officers was vested wholly in the king, contrary to the essence and spirit of the original institution. The organisation of this force threw into the hands of the Count d'Artois an immense patronage and increase of influence, and it was made subservient to the advancement of the ultra-royalist party in all the departments. By the new office of inspector-generals of the National Guards, one of whom was appointed to each department, and who was generally a member of the royalist majority in

the Chamber of Deputies, the Pavillon Marsan wielded an agency of the most extensive and powerful character, which had its ramifications in every locality, however small, throughout the kingdom. Every officer of the force was more or less an approved partisan, being almost universally a member of the local royalist committees or clubs which were formed in every town, and to which it was the fashion for all claiming to be 'respectable' to belong. Against such a machinery it was difficult for an independent minister to contend without a dangerous appeal to revolutionary passions, and it was evident that the Duke de Richelieu must act with decisive energy, or give up the painful struggle, and retire from the direction of affairs.

This memorable session of 1815-16 was closed by a royal ordinance dated the 4th of May, the final acts of the legislature bearing out the character of all the measures it had passed. Earlier it had ordained a general mourning to be observed on the 21st of January, the anniversary of the death of Louis XVI., and the erection of numerous monuments commemorative of the national repentance for that deed. Before it separated, it repealed the statutes against priests enjoying legacies left them by the dying whom they attended in their latter moments, and against their holding land in a corporate capacity. It also repealed the law permitting divorces, on the twofold ground of their being contrary to good morals, and opposed to the Word of God. A motion was even submitted to transfer public education entirely to the clergy, and to restore to them the custody of family registries; but although such ideas were very favourably received by the deputies, they were thought somewhat too bold and premature immediately to realise. An address, however, was voted to the king for the removal of all functionaries who had acted in their offices during the Hundred Days; and at the instance of M. Hyde de Neuville it was resolved that the immovability of the judges should be suspended for a year. Thus this royalist assembly at the end waxed greatly in the audacity of its attacks against the Revolution, and still more manifestly betrayed its ulterior designs and ungovernable aspirations to uproot the whole order of things and ideas that had arisen since the May-day morn when the States-General first congregated in the aisles of Nôtre-Dame de Versailles.

Independently of the support he acquired from the presence of 150,000 foreign soldiers, who had been placed by the Allies under the command of the Duke of Wellington, the stability of his throne at this moment rested mainly on the individual character of Louis XVIII. This prince had certain peculiarities of mind and disposition which suited fitly with the exigencies of his situation. Although liable to be influenced by the members of his family, he had too much good sense and real probity of heart not

to feel that expediency and conscience both concurred in recommending a strict adherence, in spirit as well as in deed, to the Constitutional Charter. At the same time he was fond of power, and especially of its outward trappings. His court was formed upon the model of that of Louis XIV., and contained the same galaxy of dignitaries filling the various offices of his household. If he did not quite equal the extraordinary magnificence of the court of Napoleon, he much surpassed it in the splendour of the historical names that were grouped around him as his servants and satellites. Yet his own personal tastes and habits were simple enough, except in the article of eating, in which he was epicurean, and apt to indulge to excess. In conversation he displayed great wit and readiness, and he wrote with remarkable ease and elegance. In fact he prided himself on his talent in composition, and often evinced testiness and jealousy when the merits of an author were unduly extolled before him. He himself belonged to the craft, for he had written two short works, 'Panurge,' and 'The Journey to Ghent.' His industry was far from considerable with regard to the transaction of business, as he preferred leaving at least all the details of affairs to his ministers, the only reports he perused with pleasure being those of the minister of police, in whose secret revelations he took the greatest interest. He was accustomed, nevertheless, to sit in council with his ministers at least twice a week, in which he discussed affairs with intelligence and sagacity. Although he has been accused of cherishing enmities, he could effectually dissemble them; and he was certainly by no means prone to acts of vengeance, if he harboured particular animosities. This quality, joined to the desire of amalgamating parties, which the passions of the time rendered almost hopeless, proved of essential benefit to him, and saved him from the odium of measures which were known to be forced upon him. Upon his politeness and gallantry he was especially inclined to 'plume himself; and whilst exacting towards his own person all the respectful etiquette due to a crowned head, he was mindful of the feelings of others, and repeated as his constant maxim that 'punctuality was the politeness of kings.'*

Of a very different character and complexion was MONSIEUR, Count d'Artois, presumptive heir to the throne. He was a personage naturally of an amiable and affectionate disposition, much more so than his elder brother; but he was wilful, wrong-headed, and obtuse to an incalculable degree. The ideas of his youth were still fresh within him, as if the Revolution had been all a

* An instance of his sensitiveness as to any breach of etiquette is related by the authoress of 'Private Memoirs of the Court of Louis XVIII.' One of his ministers during the sitting of a council happened to place his snuff-box on the king's bureau, probably unthinkingly, whereupon Louis remarked to him with some asperity: 'Monsieur le Comte, there is a place here for your portfolio, but that for your snuff-box is exclusively in your waistcoat pocket.'—Vol. ii. p. 329.

dream; and there was not a prejudice of the old régime which he did not carefully preserve and nourish. He was a steadfast believer in the doctrine that the slightest concession to popular demands was most dangerous, and always to be resisted; hence he tormented the mind of the king with reproaches, warnings, and accounts of plots, in which he believed the hateful Revolutionists to be incessantly engaged. As he dined daily with Louis, and passed part of the evenings in his apartment, he enjoyed sufficient opportunities to instil his poison into his ear, and he often caused doubts and perplexities to arise in his mind; for notwithstanding the innate conviction of Louis that his opinions were false, out of date, and utterly exploded, he could not avoid feeling a certain respect for them, since they were so very honestly entertained. He had the reputation too of a chivalric temperament, which his franker and more martial bearing gave him, for in sober truth he had done no deeds to earn it. He was, however, open and generous, beloved by his nearest partisans, and full of the suavity which sits so gracefully on a prince. True to the traditions of his family, he was devout, scrupulous in his diurnal attendance at mass, and liable to fall under the spell of priestly craft.

Two sons had resulted from the union of the Count d'Artois with a princess of Savoy—the Duke d'Angouleme and the Duke de Berry. The first was married to his cousin, the daughter of Louis XVI., who had shared the unfortunate monarch's imprisonment in the Temple. He possessed a very limited understanding, and was without a single engaging quality to redeem his mental deficiency. He had neither the polished manners of his father nor the information and address of his uncle. His wife was surrounded by the especial idolatry of the Royalists, who eyed her with a feeling akin to awe, as a sainted martyr in their cause. She was destitute, however, of the charms that embellish the virtues which were ascribed to her, and practised an austerity and rigid piety which might be edifying, but was not pleasing or seductive. Yet even Louis regarded her with a sort of superstitious interest of which he could not divest himself; and as she partook or surpassed all the exaggerated sentiments of her father-in-law, she contributed to confirm his influence over the mind of the king. The Duke de Berry was somewhat of a profligate, and given to dissipated courses, who, if he aspired to play the part of a soldier, gave himself no concern about the affairs of the realm. He had made a singularly unfortunate exhibition in attempting to ingratiate himself with the army, and had incurred public ridicule and royal censure. Nevertheless, as the bed of the Duke and Duchess d'Angouleme was sterile, the only hope of continuing the succession in the elder branch of the reigning family centered in this graceless cadet, and all the importance he possessed in political consideration arose from that adventitious circumstance.

His speedy marriage consequently was a matter of vital concern; and after an easy negotiation, it had been arranged to take place with a daughter of the king of Naples, who himself belonged to the prolific stock of the Bourbons. This princess arrived in the month of May at Marseilles, where she was received with distinguished honours, and whence she was conveyed to Paris as in a triumphal procession. She was young and sprightly, and, except that she too could not boast much beauty, the antithesis in every respect of her sister-in-law, the sour and haughty Duchess d'Angouleme. From her love of gaiety and want of ostentation, she soon became popular among the Parisians, whom frivolity can please in the absence of any sounder merit. Her nuptials with the young duke were celebrated with great pomp, and they shortly learned to love each other, giving promise of realising the fervent prayers of the Royalists, and supplying to France an heir to fill her ancient throne.

The rejoicings consequent upon this marriage served to relieve only for a moment the general gloom which hung over the court. The religious sentiment within it was intense, expressed particularly in lamentations and propitiations for the royal victims of the Revolution. The discovery of the letter written by Marie-Antoinette to the Princess Elizabeth the night before her execution, raised this feeling to a yet more exalted pitch. It was found in the house of a member of the old Committee of General Security, and being written in a strain of fervent piety and earnest forgiveness, created a very delirium of excitement. The king himself was violently affected at its perusal; and he ordered, by a circular addressed to the archbishops and bishops of the kingdom, that on the anniversary of the queen's death, the 16th of October, a solemn service should be solemnised in all the churches, at which, instead of any funeral oration, this letter should be read aloud from the pulpits, as the most touching of testimonies to the memory and virtues of the illustrious deceased.

Meanwhile, amid all these signs of stability and confidence, serious and manifold dangers threatened the government of the Restoration. The elements of conspiracies against it were numerous and formidable. The Bonapartists and the Republicans were for the moment subdued, but a common object now united them, and they were prepared to combine for the purpose of overturning the Bourbons. There were many desperate men among them, who would scruple at no means for the accomplishment of their ends. To the great bulk of the population it was impossible but that the Bourbons must appear in the most odious light. Their return was effected by foreign armies, and attended with burthens and humiliations too intolerable to be borne; whilst, to put a climax to the evil, a terrible famine was beginning to manifest itself, from the almost total destruction of the growing harvest.

This calamity was common to all the countries of Europe, and rendered the winter of 1816 a memorable one for the sufferings of the labouring millions. The manufacturing interests were likewise in a state of great depression, from the general poverty and exhaustion of all nations, and from the restrictive policy adopted by the European governments to bolster up in their respective countries native manufactures; the protective system of England being erroneously supposed the main source of her wealth. Thus the condition of France was in every respect most deplorable: a prey to accumulated physical ills, she was torn, too, by never-dying intestine feuds, and by envenomed factions, which, as they successively gained the mastery, wreaked on their opponents an insatiable vengeance.

A secret association was betrayed to the police, existing in Paris, and called the 'Association of Patriots of 1816,' which had contrived to print and distribute a great number of inflammatory circulars, and also cards of enrolment. Its ostensible head was a weak fanatic, a currier by trade, called Pleignier, and his chief coadjutor was Carboneau, an engraver. It embraced numerous persons, however, in a higher station, chiefly displaced officers and functionaries; and its plan was to surround the Tuileries during the night, blow it up by a subterranean mine worked from a sewer, and destroy or capture the whole royal family. It boasted ample means of execution in the armed federates of the faubourgs, in disbanded soldiers, and in a train of artillery. As Paris was very slenderly garrisoned at the moment, and principally by British regiments, the scheme was by no means impracticable if suddenly essayed; but as the police was made timeously cognisant of it, the principal persons implicated were arrested, and consigned to the rigorous justice of the provostal courts, which condemned a great many of them to death. About the same time an actual insurrection broke out in the communes around Grenoble, where, on the 4th of May, large bodies of peasantry suddenly flew to arms, and under the command of the Sieur Didier, a gray-headed man of sixty-four, attempted, by a *coup de main*, to gain possession of the town. General Donnadien, however, the commandant of the place, although he had few troops at his disposition, succeeded in repulsing the attack; and pursuing the flying rebels with merciless vigour, slew upwards of 100 of them. Twenty-one others were afterwards publicly executed; and Didier himself being taken by the Sardinian authorities in Savoy, was delivered up to expiate his crime on the scaffold.

These attempts against the government, and particularly the one at Grenoble, the first scene of defection to Napoleon, and which seems to have had for immediate object the seizure of the young Duchess of Berry on her way to Paris, although easily and speedily suppressed, excited the most serious alarm in the minds

of the king and his ministers. Taken in connection with previous troubles at Lyons and Tarrascon, the continual riots at Nîmes, and the discovery of another secret association at Amiens, they indicated a wide-spread discontent, which, in the unsettled political condition of the country, might lead to the most fatal consequences. Upon the apprehension of M. Decazes, the minister of police, who had the more ample means of judging their gravity, they made the profoundest impression. This minister had become the most decidedly alienated from the royalist majority of the Chamber of Deputies, and in equal proportion had grown in favour with the king. He opened conferences with Pasquier and Molé, the leaders of the moderate or constitutional party, and it was determined between them that no resource remained to extricate the government from its overwhelming embarrassments but a dissolution of the refractory Chamber. In this opinion M. de Richelieu himself concurred, but despaired of the king consenting to so bold and decisive a measure. But the scruples of Louis XVIII. were by no means so difficult to overcome as his prime-minister apprehended; and upon an elaborate memorial being laid before him setting forth its necessity, he at once acknowledged the justice of the conclusion, and expressed his resolution to adopt it. The utmost secrecy, nevertheless, was observed, lest the clamours of the Pavillon Marsan, the tears and remonstrances of the Duchess d'Angoulême, might avail to move him from his purpose; and some of the ministers even were not apprised of the intention until near the moment of carrying it into effect. At eight o'clock on the evening of the 5th of September the momentous Ordinance was signed, and at eleven it was sent for insertion to the official organ of the government, the 'Moniteur.'

Never was a faction or a nation so completely taken by surprise as upon this explosion of energy on the part of King Louis XVIII. The Royalists were furious beyond expression, and denied that the act emanated from the free-will of the king; the rest of the community generally hailed it with acclamations. The Count d'Artois pronounced the ruin of the monarchy sealed, and the Duchess d'Angoulême forbade any of the ministers to approach her presence: but true patriots, men who really wished to see a moderate constitutional government established in their country, saw in it the portent of a happier future. Nor was it such only who viewed the measure in the same favourable light. From his intimate relations with the Russian court, Richelieu had consulted Pozzo di Borgo on the subject, and that minister had procured from his master, Alexander, an emphatic approval, and an exhortation to the king to persevere manfully in his vigorous resolution. But the Royalists were not the less disposed on that account to murmur and complain, alleging that the head of the

Bourbon dynasty was either betrayed, or he was himself a traitor. Chateaubriand fulminated one of those fiery and stirring pamphlets which always wrought such a prodigious effect, entitled 'Monarchy according to the Charter,' wherein he roundly asserted the dissolution of the Chamber to be the work of a cabal, and contrary to the personal wish of the king. This publication was seized by the police; and to give a marked denial to its statements, the king erased the name of the author from the list of his ministers of State, a title equivalent to that of privy-counsellor in England, and in which category Chateaubriand had stood since the days of the first Restoration.

The material difficulty attending this abrupt dissolution sprung from the fact, that no electoral law existed, except in the Charter and in the Ordinance of 13th July 1815, which were at variance with each other. In this perplexity it was resolved to revert altogether to the original Charter; and in order to put an end to all future disputes, to declare its articles irrevocable, and not subject to revision, as had been provided in the Ordinance. Thus the number of deputies was again reduced to 258, the electoral qualification fixed at a contribution of 300 francs yearly taxes, and the qualification of a deputy at forty years of age, and the payment of 1000 francs yearly taxes. The presidents of the electoral colleges were all nominated by the king; and it is a singular proof of the ignorance of constitutional forms existing in France at this time, that Lainé, the new minister of the interior, who had displaced the royalist Vaublanc, circulated instructions among them, and also among the prefects of the departments, to the effect that they should use every exertion to influence the elections, and take care that exaggerated men of both parties should be as far as possible excluded, and men of moderate but legitimatist principles preferred. These instructions were so well acted upon, that many of the most violent of the former royalist majority were rejected, and a preponderating number of deputies returned in the interest of the ministry which had so unflinchingly executed this *coup d'état*, and saved the Restoration from its own impassioned partisans.

The Royalists, however, through their powerful organisation, were enabled to fight a tough battle, and often a successful one, in the electoral colleges both of the *arrondissement* and of the department. No struggle perhaps ever presented more singular features than this election contest of 1816 in France. On one side was a party which only a few months before had appeared utterly prostrated, and yet in so short a space had recovered such strength, that it could make head not only against its old and natural opponents—Imperialists, Republicans, and Liberals—but against the whole force of a government which belonged properly to itself, and which it had alienated by its tyrannical dictation.

Through this strange vicissitude the liberals ranged themselves on the side of the administration, which required all the force of their aid to carry the conflict to a successful issue. The almost absolute disappearance of the Bonapartist or republican element was equally striking as in the elections of the previous year, and only two ultra-liberals were returned — one of whom was M. Laffitte, the wealthy banker, who owed his election to his financial connection with the government.

Louis XVIII. opened the session in person on the 4th of November. The speech he delivered upon the occasion was vague and general, as usual in such documents, being remarkable only for his reiterated assurance of holding fast by the Charter, as he had sufficiently proved by his ordinance of the 5th of September, and for an emphatic exhortation to union and moderation, whereby of past calamities there might remain only a painful, but useful remembrance. The altered character of the Chamber of Deputies was made apparent by the first division, which took place on the nomination of a president. Pasquier and Serres, both of the liberal party, were the two candidates who had the greatest number of votes on the ballot, and in a last scrutiny the former had the preference. He soon after joined the ministry as keeper of the seals, and was then succeeded in the presidency by M. Serres. Through the astute tactics of the Royalists, the situation of parties assumed from the first an anomalous character. Being beaten from a majority into a minority, and that through the action of their own restored government, they abjured their real principles for the nonce, and stood forward as the advocates of constitutional rights and liberties. The temptation was perhaps too great for any political virtue to resist. They had an excellent theme of declamation in the interference of the government in the elections, from which they had themselves suffered so much, and they might reasonably call on the Liberals to join in their censure. So also with regard to arbitrary arrests under the exceptional laws of the last session, when they impugned the conduct of Decazes as police minister, against whom their rancour was chiefly concentrated as the author of their discomfiture, and showed that he had been guilty of excessive and illegal rigour in their execution, they might demand the support of the Liberals who had opposed the passing of the measures themselves. But the Liberals were bound to uphold the ministry; and however awkward their position might be in the face of such interpellations, they could not do otherwise, even at the expense of their consistency, and in the interest of those principles they had really at heart.

Notwithstanding the ordinance of the 5th of September had declared the articles of the Charter to be immutable, and not subject to revision, one of the principal measures introduced by the govern-

ment during the session was a new law of election. This was a project that had its origin in a great measure with the *Doctrinaires*, who formed from this time an important element in the Chamber of Deputies, and were distinguished by a system of positive principles more in consonance with the philosophy of the schools than with the practical affairs of life or government. Yet considering that an extended suffrage might at this epoch have been dangerous to the stability of order in France, it was as liberal and suitable a measure as was perhaps at the moment either safe or feasible. It possessed the merit of re-establishing direct election, which had been suppressed by Sieyès and Napoleon in their constitution of the year VIII., by vesting the choice of deputies in one departmental college composed of tax-payers to the extent of 300 francs yearly, and being thirty years of age. The qualification of a deputy was as before—namely, forty years of age, and the payment of 1000 francs of taxes yearly; and he was not to receive any allowance. No electoral college was to exceed 600 voters in number, and was to be divided into sections in case of any excess; the presidents of these colleges were nominated by the king, and their functions were strictly defined to be those of electing deputies only, all power of deliberating or passing resolutions being expressly denied to them. The electors were to vote by lists dropped into ballot-boxes, and there were to be three scrutinies: in the two first no deputy could be elected who had not one more than a fourth of the actual suffrages; in the third scrutiny a mere plurality of votes decided the election. In other respects the law was conformable to the Charter, fixing the duration of the Chamber at five years, unless earlier dissolved, with an annual renewal of one-fifth. It was vehemently opposed by the Royalists in both Chambers, and carried only by narrow majorities, the ministers during the discussion being completely dependent on the sections of the liberal party.

Compared with the electoral system then existing in Great Britain, and especially in Scotland and Ireland, where the immense majority of the people had no voice whatever in the choice of their representatives, and where the representation itself was the very quintessence of arbitrariness and inequality, the system, as thus established in France, was upon a much more enlightened and intelligible basis, and better calculated also to elicit a real expression of the national will. It was founded exclusively, certainly, upon the possession of property as evidenced by the payment of taxes to the State, and that upon a very high scale; but at all events the qualification was uniform, free from religious tests, and, coupled with the maturity of age required in both electors and candidates, well fitted to insure the return of men competent by knowledge and experience to form the legislators of a great country. Yet, in comparison with so

large a population as that of France, the constituent body was undoubtedly insignificant. From statistical records, it appears that at the time of the passing of this law (5th February 1817) there were only 90,878 electors paying taxes to the amount of 300 francs yearly, and only 16,052 Frenchmen paying 1000 francs, and eligible to sit in the Chamber of Deputies.

In accordance with the changed complexion of the Chamber, the laws of 1815 against the press and against individual liberty were modified; but upon the urgent representations of Decazes, who held them to be necessary for the tranquillity of the country, they were not abrogated; moreover, they were to continue only until the 1st of January 1818. The Royalists denounced both measures with shameless effrontery, and Villele taunted Decazes with the declaration contained in the king's speech touching the happy continuance of domestic tranquillity and external peace. He reproached the Constitutionalists also with their tergiversation, and wittily complimented them upon showing themselves such zealous defenders of an arbitrary prerogative. These retorted by congratulations upon finding constitutional courses in such favour with the advocates of a despotic government; but in reality they felt the sting of his gibes, and some of them more than hesitated about voting with the minister. In this predicament, and in utter dereliction of all constitutional principles, Decazes adduced the name and authority of the king in the discussion, which operated so strongly upon the Royalists, that they relaxed in their opposition, and both the projects were eventually passed into laws.

As in the last session, so in the present, the finances presented the chief ministerial difficulty. By dint of extraordinary exertions, all the charges of the year had been met with punctuality, save the payment of the *rentes* or interest of the public debt, which was of necessity postponed for three months. The foreign obligations constituted the pressure upon the treasury which M. Corvetto, the finance minister, found so hard to parry; but hitherto they had been regularly discharged as they fell due. In order to ease the operations of the treasury, the proposal of a loan had been discussed in the cabinet, and finally determined upon. On consultation with M. Laffitte and other French capitalists, however, it was discovered that it would be impossible to raise the required amount in Paris, although the bankers of the metropolis generally were disposed to render all the assistance in their power to the treasury. It was then that M. Corvetto bethought him of applying to foreigners for aid, and he fixed his eye on the Messrs Baring of London, who enjoyed the reputation of being the richest capitalists in the world. These undertook with alacrity to advance the requisite funds in conjunction with the Messrs Hope of Amsterdam, but they exacted very rigorous

terms. In such bad odour did the credit of France stand at the time in the estimation of these potentates of the money market, that they made her pay an annual interest of 10 per cent., and a bonus of $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. besides under the name of commission. On these terms they were ready to negotiate a loan for 200,000,000 francs; and such were the exigencies of the finance minister, that he felt constrained to accede to them. Formal treaties were entered into accordingly; and in addition to her other afflictions, France had the pain of witnessing her distresses become the means of enriching the stockjobbers of alien States.

This transaction naturally excited great discontent in France, and gave rise to numerous pamphlets, of which one written by M. Casimir-Perier, a Paris banker, attracted the chief attention. Not only were the terms of the loan vehemently condemned, but the necessity of contracting one at all was denied, since, if proper economy were observed in the public expenditure, no deficiency ought to exist. But if the ruinous expedient were resorted to, an expedient to which finance ministers were ever too prone, seeking thus an easy mode of obviating their difficulties, why were all its advantages bestowed on foreigners instead of being given to native Frenchmen? These objections greatly aggravated the general feeling against the measure, and seemed to portend its rejection by the Chambers. The disparagement of such a failure was, however, averted by the successful negotiation of M. de Richelieu with the Allies for the partial evacuation of the French territory. By the treaty of the 20th of November 1815, the occupation was to last for three or five years, at the option of the Allies; but in the interim the army might be reduced. The Duke de Richelieu now applied for this reduction to the extent of a fifth, and was met with a ready acquiescence on the part of the powers, the Duke of Wellington having previously signified his approval of it. A note was accordingly drawn up and signed at Paris on the 10th of February 1817 by the representatives of the four powers, in which they agreed that the army of occupation should on the 1st of April next be reduced by 30,000 men, and the number of daily rations furnished by the French government be diminished from 200,000 to 160,000. The reasons assigned in this note for so signal a proof of confidence in the king's government are very curious, being derived principally from the consequences of the ordinance of the 5th of September, which were deemed eminently favourable to the cause of peace and order in France. Testimony is borne also to the good faith with which all engagements had been hitherto fulfilled, and to the care taken 'to provide for the different services of the current year, by adding to the resources arising from the revenues of the State those of a credit guaranteed by foreign and national banking-houses of the highest consideration in Europe'—which merits are held to remove any

difficulties that might have otherwise arisen. This concession, and particularly the reasons on which it was founded, gave great additional strength to the ministry, and enabled it to carry its financial scheme triumphantly through the legislature. Certain politic admissions to participation in the loan, and acquiescences as to the terms of it by the Messrs Baring, likewise materially conduced to this result; and what had at one time threatened to shipwreck Richelieu and his colleagues altogether, availed in the end considerably to invigorate their position. A better feeling of confidence began generally to prevail than had been known since the catastrophe of the Russian campaign, and the public funds experienced a considerable rise, to the egregious profit of the lucky contractors of the loan.

On the 26th of March the session of 1816-17 was brought to a close, and in September following the election of the retiring fifth of the Chamber of Deputies took place in the departments determined by lot. It was attended by another severe struggle, in which four parties were antagonistically arrayed—the Royalists, the Ministerialists, the Liberals, and the ultra-Liberals, for avowed republicans or Bonapartists had disappeared. There is no doubt these partial elections were favourable to the administrative action, and their result was an increase of strength to the existing government. The Royalists were completely defeated, but the Liberals gained several votes, which enabled them in the next session to play the part of an organised opposition, as the motive of their adherence to the ministry had ceased with the discomfiture of the Royalists. As for the ultra-Liberals, their three principal candidates, Benjamin Constant, Manuel, and Lafayette, all failed in securing the requisite majority of votes; but Dupont de l'Eure and Bignon secured their returns. The utmost order and regularity prevailed during the progress of the elections, falsifying the evil prognostications as to the working of the new law, and affording to Europe an agreeable spectacle, which was destined ere long to redound mightily to the advantage of France.

Undoubtedly France suffered very severely during this terrible era of 1816-17, from the combined evils of heavy taxation and scarcity of food; but it is a fact, that through her boundless natural resources she fared better than many of the other countries of Europe, and particularly her principal conqueror and opponent—England. The cessation of the war had, as previously in 1802, caused great mercantile and manufacturing reverses in that emporium of commerce, which seemed, under the factitious stimulus of the war expenditure, wonderfully to flourish. By the peace several branches of industry connected immediately with war were altogether destroyed or materially injured. Far less iron and steel were wanted, and those manufactures fell into decay. Transports were no longer needed for the conveyance of

troops, and the shipping interest languished. An active competition was experienced in all foreign markets, and the traffickers incurred losses instead of reaping gains. The re-opened trade with the continent was as yet unproductive, from the general impoverishment, and from an awakened spirit of commercial jealousy. Thus an unprecedented distress existed among the great mercantile community of Great Britain, and bankruptcies were multiplied beyond all former experience. Amidst this universal depression of trade and manufactures, by which immense bodies of the industrious were thrown out of employment, and incalculable ruin wrought among individuals, a singular cry of distress was heard from what was called the agricultural interest—namely, the landed aristocracy and their tenants, the cultivators of the soil. The price of grain of course fell with that of all other produce after the return of peace; and this aristocracy, having the legislative power in its hands, determined that the price of grain should not be so allowed to recede, but that it should be artificially maintained at the previous enhanced standard. This project for unduly enhancing the price of bread, worthy only of a selfish and cold-blooded dominant class, was alleged to have for objects the preventing of land being left untilled, which would be the consequence of importations of foreign grain, and the placing of England in absolute independence for supplies of food. The real object was, and could be no other than the maintenance of rents at the high rates they had attained during the war, for it was preposterous to suppose that land once brought under the plough would ever be suffered to go out of cultivation in a country like Great Britain with an ever-increasing population; and as to independence of foreign supplies, a horrible catastrophe speedily evinced the futility of such a pretence. Besides, if some land really did fall out of cultivation, that could not operate as an excuse, or even as a pretext, for taxing the food of the great body of the people. However, clap-traps go a long way with a community like the British, especially at that time, when they were puffed up with conceited and prejudiced notions, arising from their long isolation, and from the many circumstances that had occurred to inflate the national vanity. Consequently, although all the large towns, the seats of commercial and manufacturing industry, indignantly protested against so outrageous a measure, and although the House of Commons itself was besieged by a riotous multitude, a law was passed in the session of 1815 for the exclusion of all foreign corn from the harbours of Great Britain, until the average price of wheat throughout the kingdom had stood for the space of six weeks at the monstrous figure of 80s. per quarter—at once the most extraordinary and the most revolting statute at the expense of the general weal that has ever been enacted by the legislature of any country.

As if it had been the design of Providence to mark by some emphatic testimony of wrath this lamentable abuse of the graces He had vouchsafed, the memorable visitation of 1816 came, and fell with the intensest severity on recalcitrant England. There was a general failure of the harvest throughout Europe; but in the British islands, from the greater humidity and the lateness of the seasons, it was more complete than elsewhere. A famine of unexampled violence ensued, that eclipses in remembrance any which had previously or have since happened. The price of wheat, which, on the average, was 52s. 6d. per quarter in January, rose to 103s. in December, and gradually increased until it reached 111s. 6d. in June 1817, exceeding by upwards of 30s. the artificial standard set up by the landlords in their enactment. The labouring poor of course suffered extreme privations from the twofold aggravation of a want of employment and the high price of bread. Several popular outbreaks took place in different parts of the country, and particularly one at London on the 2d December 1816, which wore for some time a very alarming character. The Prince-Regent was shot at on his return from opening parliament in January 1817, and everything indicated the existence of a wide-spread disaffection, not confined to the lower classes, but infecting as well the majority of the middle classes. National calamities are at all times attributed to the government, even though it be not strictly chargeable with them, and even though the government be itself of a popular nature; but the predominant faction in the British parliament at this time was most odious from its arbitrary and persecuting principles, and might be fairly held responsible for many of the evils that prevailed. Hence a formidable cry speedily arose for a reform of this parliament, which, from its constitution, was the representative not of the nation, but of a corrupt oligarchy, that sacrificed the general interests to its own selfish ends. In the temper of the times this doctrine of a parliamentary reform was viewed as rank sedition, and the ultra-Tory government prepared to stifle it with the strong arm of force. The parliament was quite ready to grant all the powers it asked; and whilst repressive laws were being relaxed in France, they were established in England with merciless severity. *First*, the Habeas Corpus Act, the palladium of individual liberty, was suspended; *secondly*, a law was passed for preventing public meetings and debating societies, rendering it *death* in persons not to disperse after a summons from a magistrate; *thirdly*, all justices of peace were authorised to apprehend persons vending what were deemed libels or seditious writings. Other enactments were passed for the better preservation of the royal person and authority, and to punish attempts for the seduction of soldiers or sailors, which bore the same impress of tyranny and cruelty. Under these laws not even a literary or scientific

lecture could be delivered without a license from a magistrate, nor were booksellers and publishers at any time safe from a vexatious imprisonment. The institution of the jury alone offered some slight bulwark to liberty, as sundry of the victims of ministerial vengeance were acquitted when put upon their trial; but in other instances the judges succeeded in extorting verdicts against accused persons, and at Derby three individuals were hanged on a conviction for high treason.

Doubtless much violence and unfortunate delusion was displayed on the part of the people during the course of these disturbances, which it was the province of a wise administration to repress, since social or political ameliorations ought not to be urged or carried by mere force; but the spirit of the British government at this period was so truly execrable, that there can be little wonder its burthen was found to be intolerable. It was the same in the other countries which had assisted to put down the dominion and despotism of Napoleon. Ferdinand VII. of Spain had been the first to reward the patriotic exertions of his subjects to recover him a throne by destroying their liberties, and fastening on them a hateful yoke of absolutism and priestly intolerance. The sovereigns of Germany acted in a like manner, and showed themselves the same foul traitors to their protestations and promises. During the terrible struggle for deliverance from France, they had appealed to the populations in the sacred names of liberty, freedom, and independence; and to the enthusiasm thus inspired was greatly to be ascribed the triumphant termination of the contest. Now with unparalleled baseness they refused to redeem these pledges, and withheld from the German people the noble prize of constitutional government which they had so richly merited. The king of Prussia, as usual, stood conspicuous for his duplicity and perfidy. No monarch ever owed a deeper debt of gratitude to a nation than did he, who had been raised from the very depths of humiliation, and elevated to a dominion which ranked him among the first potentates of the world. In the first emotion of fear at the return of Napoleon from Elba, he had issued a proclamation to the Prussians from Vienna, in which he not only renewed his previous promise of granting them a constitution, but actually laid down rules for the election of representatives of the people. Yet he scrupled not to violate so imperative an obligation, and joined in the disgraceful equivocation by which it was sought to neutralise and evade the express declarations of the Congress of Vienna. This turned upon a discordance which was discovered to exist between the French and German versions of the Act of Federation for Germany, which, being a purely German document, ought to have been interpreted as framed in the vernacular tongue. According to the German version, then, the members of the Confederation were bound to grant their subjects a representative consti-

tution; but according to the French, merely an assembly of States, which was clearly a mistranslation: yet was this wretched quibble eagerly laid hold of, to justify a denial of the rights of the German communities. The expression 'an assembly of States' meant nothing, or at least could be interpreted at pleasure; as in most of the countries of Germany such assemblies had existed from remote times, but gave not the shadow of a guarantee to constitutional franchises. Thus were the Germans defrauded of their promised reward, and thus could their unworthy rulers reconcile their consciences to commit an act of deliberate perjury by a vile salve of critical dishonesty.*

So true it was, and yet so seemingly paradoxical, that with the cause of Napoleon was mixed up the question of human liberties. Personally, doubtless, he was a thorough despot; but he embodied principles which were wholly antagonistic to the antiquated maxims that had hitherto ruled the world. Hereditary royalty and aristocracy, that divine right of kings which was impiously arrogated, he smote by the mere fact of his predominance, springing as it did from a purely national basis. In him the Revolution had its representative, distorted certainly, and apparently belied, but not the less potently in operation. He carried still upon his sword its levelling and regenerative dogmas, scaring the owls of tradition from their crumbling towers, trampling on crowns and coronets, and all the arrogant usurpers over men, and diffusing among populations a just perception of the true and the legitimate. Whilst, therefore, he was lord of the ascendant, and all the potentates of Germany, great and small, crouched humbly at his feet, a very instructive lesson was instilled, well fitted to teach nations a sense of their rights, and rulers a sense of their duties. Such in reality was the case, and nothing could exceed the blandness and moderation of the latter during the season of their adversity. But when they again got the upper hand, they revived all their obsolete pretensions; and having crushed, as they thought, the revolutionary monster, held that they might with impunity forget the obligations they had contracted, ignore the claims of the people by whose exertions they had been raised from the mire, and restore again in full integrity that cherished system which invested thrones with a halo of sanctity, and denuded populations of volition and expression. This did they, and verily they shall have their reward; for in the hour when again the tocsin sounds, these thrones

* The old and legal designation of the assemblies of States in German was *Landstaendische Versammlungen*, whereas the term used in the 13th article of the Act of Federation is *Landstaendische Verfassung*, which the Germans universally hold to signify a representative constitution. But the mere phraseology is of very little moment, when the intention, or at all events the understanding, was precise and unequivocal, as evidenced by the proclamation of the king of Prussia. Bignon argues the question in a very admirable manner in his excellent work, '*Les Cabinets et les Peuples*,' p. 97 and seq.

shall quiver in the blast, they themselves shall tear their diadems from their heads, their counsellors and minions shall fly like attainted knaves, and the triumphant people shall fetter them in jealous chains they will not dare to break.

Compared with the other countries of Europe, therefore, France was in a better position as regarded sound constitutional liberty than any one of them. If she had not that darling democracy for which she had so painfully struggled, and which, when attained, degenerated straightway into terrorism and anarchy, she had at least more practical freedom, a more true representative exponent than she had enjoyed since 1792, or indeed at any time in the whole range of her history, for during no phase of the Revolution did anything like real freedom exist. The Chamber of Deputies contained partisans of every shade of opinion prevailing in the country, from exaggerated royalism to the verge of republicanism; but the majority, under the different fractions and designations of the Centre-Right, the Centre, and the Centre-Left, belonged to the moderate and progressive party, of which M. Decazes had become the principal personification. In order more completely to assimilate the ministry with this majority, it had been modified during the recess, Count Molé having been appointed minister of marine, and Marshal Gouvion St Cyr minister of war, in place of Dubouché and Clarke, who were both of royalist sympathies. It was thus completely changed in character from what it had originally been, and consistently with this change its course of policy was directed. The provostal courts were suppressed; all political prosecutions were stopped; those detained under the laws of 1815 were in general liberated; many of the exiles were permitted to return, and it was contemplated to restore by gradual relaxations full liberty to the press. The mission of M. de Richelieu himself was more particularly to manage the relations with foreign powers, and to gain from them mitigations of those conditions which threatened to swamp the resources of France. The two great objects, therefore, to which he devoted his attention, and which demanded on his part great influence and address, were a reduction of the claims for indemnities preferred on behalf of all the countries which had been occupied or traversed by the French armies, and which amounted in the whole to more than a milliard of francs, and an immediate evacuation of the French territory by the allied army of occupation. If the liabilities of France were brought within a reasonable compass, and if her soil were relieved from the hateful presence of foreign soldiers, she might rebound again into all her pristine vitality, recover from the shocks she had sustained, deploy in prosperity her infinite resources, and resume her rank as the first of the nations of the earth.

It was under these pleasing anticipations that Louis XVIII.

opened as usual in person the legislative session of 1817-18. He was very cordially received as he passed to and from the Chamber of Deputies, in which he delivered the speech prepared for him, for at this time he was decidedly popular with the great majority of the nation. The large sums he had devoted from his civil list in both the past years, as well for the relief of those who had suffered from the foreign invasion, as for the mitigation of the effects of the dearth, had tended to secure him a personal attachment which was not accorded to any other of his family. In his speech he had little to communicate beyond the announcement that he had concluded a new Concordat with the Pope, some of the provisions of which would require a legislative sanction; that his ministers had digested a new law for the recruitment of the army; and that he had confident hopes of being speedily relieved from some of the more onerous conditions of the treaties he had been obliged to sign in 1815. He also congratulated the legislature that, notwithstanding the extraordinary expenses entailed upon the treasury by the deficiency of the previous harvest, there would be no augmentation necessary in the budget of the year, owing to the strict economy he had introduced into all the departments of the government. These notifications were hailed with much applause, and the monarch retired from the hall of his assembled legislators radiant with satisfaction.

During this important session the sphere of dangerous opposition to the ministry was removed from the Chamber of Deputies to the Chamber of Peers. In the former, the ministerialists constituted a sufficient majority to carry all the government measures; in the latter, the too liberal tendency of the ministry had alarmed many of the *Monarchists*, as they were called, in contradistinction to the Royalists, from whom they differed touching a reactionary policy. To lessen the force of this opposition, the king commanded the princes of his family to abstain from attending the Chamber, whereby the personal action of the Count d'Artois was somewhat checked. A coolness, amounting almost to alienation, existed now between the occupant and the heir of the throne, although they still continued to meet every day in the same circle, and evinced towards each other that regard which the great of this world have such aptitude in feigning, even when their hearts are choked with spleen and envy. That most difficult subject to regulate in France, the press, was the first brought under discussion in the Chamber of Deputies, upon a project introduced by Baron Pasquier, the keeper of the seals. By the Charter the press was declared free, as it was by the common law in England; but in neither country was it practically so. By a law of the 4th of October 1814, newspapers and periodical publications were placed under a censorship, and could only appear under a license from the king; whilst works of upwards of twenty sheets might be freely

published, but below that standard of amplitude they were subjected to a prior examination. Such restrictions might be expedient, and indeed indispensable, during periods of such great excitement as the first and second Restorations, especially in a country like France, where the liberty of the press has been so invariably abused; and accordingly they had been continued in both the previous sessions, though somewhat modified in the last. Now it was proposed to settle the question in a definitive manner, and accordingly Baron Pasquier submitted his project for this purpose. It took off every restriction upon the printing or publishing of works not directly instigating to crime, but provided for prompt prosecutions in the case of derelictions of the laws, vesting a summary jurisdiction for the punishment of offenders in the courts of correctional police, or, at the option of the king's procureur-general, in the courts of assize before juries. As to newspapers and other periodicals, it prolonged the necessity of a license from the king until the 1st of January 1821. With the ideas entertained in countries where a really free press exists, such a law seems sufficiently stringent; but it was considered at the time a great advance upon the exceptional laws of 1815. Nevertheless the ultra-liberals offered to it a strenuous resistance, in which, strange to say, they were joined by the Royalists, who now declared themselves the advocates of an unlimited freedom of the press. Such are the aberrations of factions, when, in the gratification of passions, they discard the restraints of principle! By this combined opposition, however, the measure was so retarded in its progress, that the ministers were obliged to pass hastily, as a separate enactment, on the last day but one of the year, the clause relative to newspapers, as the subsisting law expired on the 1st of January of the new year. But the restriction was continued, not until the 1st of January 1821, but only until the end of the session of 1818. Subsequently the remaining portion of the ministerial project passed the Chamber of Deputies; but in the upper assembly Chateaubriand raised his eloquent voice against it, rather in the illustrious character of an author than in the conventional one of a peer, and with such effect, that it was so materially modified, as to induce the ministry ultimately to abandon it.

The scheme devised by Gouvion St Cyr for the recruitment of the army, with the attendant regulations for military discipline, encountered an opposition which well-nigh led to a more marked discomfiture of the ministry. By the Charter, the conscription, that terrible drain upon the young blood of France, had been abolished; for at the time of its promulgation, it was the master-grievance against the insatiable Napoleon. Since the dissolution of the imperial army, it had been found that voluntary enlistment was insufficient to complete the formation of a new one, which, by

the treaty with the Allies, was not to exceed 150,000 men. The old soldiers would have been willing enough to serve rather than return to homes and occupations which had become strange to them; but they were held in distrust; and it was thought naturally that a merely new organisation would not convert them into assured supporters of a Bourbon throne. By the project of the war minister, it was proposed that annual *appels*, or callings-out, should take place to the extent of 40,000 men, taken from youths of a certain class, with the privilege of serving by substitute. At the same time the peace establishment of the army was never to exceed 240,000 men, being 90,000 above the number stipulated with the Allies. But the most important part of this measure related to the internal regulations of the army. It was provided that the service of the soldiers should be limited to ten years, with a right of re-enlistment; that no person could act as a sub-officer unless he was twenty years old, and had served actively for two years in a corps of regular troops; that no person could act as an officer unless he had served two years as a sub-officer, or had attended the exercises of the military schools; that two-thirds of the sub-lieutenancies of the line should be given to sub-officers; that two-thirds of the grades of inferior officers should be bestowed according to seniority; that no officer, in fine, could be promoted to a superior grade or employment unless he had served four years in the grade or employment immediately inferior, except in time of war for extraordinary occasions, or for exploits recorded in the order of the day.

The rage of the Royalists was perfectly boundless as they listened to the details of this scheme. Here was another principle of the Revolution, the most hated of all, the equality of rights, solemnly propounded by the minister of a Bourbon prince! Commissions in the army were not, as in the good old times, to be given to rank and favour, but were to be gained only by years of active service in the ranks, and to be contested with plebeians and the most basely born! Surely such an outrage upon nobility, to which the profession of arms was, as it were, the honourable appanage, was never devised by the malice of its worst enemy! Such were the indignant exclamations of the amazed Royalists, who, however, had the sagacity to repeat them only among themselves; for in the public debates they decried the measure chiefly as a dereliction and degradation of the royal prerogative, which was thus fettered in its dearest privilege—that of rewarding merit. By the majority of the Chamber of Deputies it was necessarily greeted with warm approval, and by the nation at large it was received with something like a delirium of delight, so unexpected and complete was the departure from the old régime. In the Chamber of Peers it had a very narrow escape, an amendment trenching upon its essence being rejected by a majority of only

three, whilst the law in its totality was voted only on a division by 96 to 74. Thus was the French army re-established upon what may be called the democratic principle of the Revolution, which, despite its origin, has nevertheless been deemed so excellent and fruitful of good, that it has been adopted in those of the most despotic princes; and of all the European armies remains unknown only to that of England, the commissions in which are bought by money—assuredly the most precarious test of qualification, yet not found in practice to render it the least efficient or the most faithless to its duties.

The Concordat with the Pope gave rise to difficulties from a totally different quarter. This spiritual treaty had been negotiated with the Holy See by the Count de Blacas, the former unfortunate adviser of Louis XVIII., whose disgrace was covered by the first in rank of diplomatic appointments. If in temporal matters Louis had the good sense to adopt many of the revolutionary subversions, he could not resist the numerous influences under which he was importuned to restore the Gallican Church as it had existed under the old monarchy. Emigrant priests were clamorous for sees and benefices, the Count d'Artois invoked the memory of St Louis, the Duchess d'Angoulême appealed to the call of conscience and religion, Louis himself deemed it a point of honour. But the affair was not one of such easy adjustment as was at first supposed. Of all powers, the most impracticable to deal with have been ever those styled religious, since the qualities provoking fatuity and obstinacy—pride, bigotry, and the lust of power—more indoctrinate them than others of the temporal school. Napoleon, of all men or potentates, had alone bent the court of Rome to yield to his will in ecclesiastical concerns; and when he had the Pope a prisoner at Fontainebleau, he had cajoled or intimidated him to yield the very tenderest point in all the assumed prerogatives of the Church of St Peter—namely, the right of contesting nominations to bishoprics by the crown. Although conscious and sometimes impatient of the inconveniences arising from that anomalous authority exercised by a foreign State in matters of religious polity, Napoleon had not wished to divest the Pope of the sway or sanctity he held in the mind of the Catholic world; on the contrary, he was intent to preserve in him the sacred and apostolic character he inherited as the holder of the keys of heaven, but only to render him and all the authority he thence derived subservient to his own purposes. With this view, it was in the scope of his mighty ambition to plant this mystic personage in his own capital, in the city of Paris, of which he would constitute him at once pontiff and titular, and through him, the first of his subjects, hold at disposal those thunders which had once shaken the universe with their throes. In the crash of his own empire he had not time to realise

this magnificent scheme, whereby he would have placed his foot on the very representative of heaven itself; and after his downfall, 'the servant of the servants of God' resumed all his temporal dominion, and again seated himself on the throne of the Vatican.

Of the manifold attributes ascribed to the incumbent of the chair of St Peter, the most singular, and often the most embarrassing, is that of infallibility. Notwithstanding he is still human, so is he likewise godlike. He cannot err, and consequently his deeds must be irrevocable and immutable. Now it so happened that in the Concordat of 1801, extorted by Napoleon when First Consul, the Church of France had been reconstructed upon an entirely novel basis, the number of sees being greatly diminished, and new circumscriptions assigned to them, answering to the revolutionary subdivision of departments. This was the act of the Pope, and his wisdom being infallible, how could he be asked to undo it! This was the difficulty with which the French negotiator was met, and it appeared for some time to be insuperable; but gradually the Sacred College relaxed in the strictness of its interpretation, as various advantages were held out to it to be conceded for behoof of the general Church, and at length it consented to admit the principle of an alteration. The question being thus disembarassed of the perplexing element of infallibility, was speedily brought to a conclusion, and M. de Blacas and the papal ministers concurred readily in saddling France with seven additional archbishops and thirty-five additional bishops, giving to all the sees another circumscription, for which a bull was immediately promulgated. The Concordat of 1801 was annulled, saving, however, its effects, and reserving especially the thirteenth article, which consecrated the sale of the Church lands. In other respects, as establishing the relations between the civil and ecclesiastical powers, the Concordat concluded between Francis I. and Leo X. was reintegrated in its entirety.

Such was the measure submitted to the French legislature in the year 1818 for its sanction, in so far as such sanction was requisite for its fulfilment, particularly with regard to the intended revenues of the new prelates. It was one of the main errors of the Restoration this inopportune and ostentatious zeal for the interests of a Church which the people of France regarded with aversion, or at best with indifference. The treaty and the bull were both received by the Chamber of Deputies with ill-dissembled repugnance; and soon the growl of discontent grew so unequivocal, that after various fruitless conferences between the ministers and the committee on the measure, it was finally withdrawn by the former, for the purpose of being remitted back to Rome for modification. Thus was the Pope to be again called upon to waive his infallibility, and thus were numerous expectant ecclesiastics deceived in their hopes of receiving mitres with rich

endowments, being obliged to content themselves with becoming bishops *in partibus*; which designation, in ecclesiastical polity, means a bishop with a name indeed, but without a local habitation.

The financial question was, as usual, the most absorbing one to the legislature. On this point, again, the favour and influence of the Duke de Richelieu with the Emperor Alexander was of signal benefit to France. On his application, the autocrat wrote to the Duke of Wellington, setting forth the propriety of reducing to a reasonable amount the claims for indemnities to be paid by France, and which might render their liquidation practicable and possible. In this opinion the duke frankly concurred, and offered to facilitate such an arrangement by all the means in his power. Accordingly conferences were forthwith opened between him and Richelieu, in which the representatives of the other powers subsequently took part. As the best understanding existed among the negotiators, and a real desire was felt to arrive at a definitive settlement, the affair was speedily arranged. Richelieu offered on the part of France a *rente* of 10,000,000 francs (£400,000), in full satisfaction of all the claims made upon her; and this offer being increased to 12,400,000 (£500,000), was accepted by the Conference. But to render this settlement final and conclusive, it was necessary that it should be ratified by the Chambers and by the four great powers of the Coalition. Accordingly, it was submitted to the Chamber of Deputies early in the session; and as all parties were animated by a sincere desire to fulfil honourably the obligations contracted by France in the ill-fated treaties of 1815, it provoked scarcely any animadversion, and the minister easily obtained a vote of credit to the extent of 24,000,000 of *rentes*, the surplus to be available in hastening an event to which all aspirations were directed—namely, the prompt evacuation of the territory. By a treaty concluded between the government and Mr Baring, on behalf of himself and the Messrs Hope, 16,000,000 of these *rentes* were taken by him, at the rate of sixty-six francs for every five francs of *rente*, or at the rate of sixty-two, deducting the commission, being a considerable improvement on the terms of the previous loan. Laffitte and several of the French bankers were admitted by Baring to a participation in the profits of this transaction. Thus a capital sum was raised of 211,200,000 francs (£8,500,000), of which 164,000,000 (£6,547,000) were appropriated to the payment of indemnities to the subjects of foreign powers. Of this latter sum, by specific agreements, 35,600,000 francs (£1,400,000) were apportioned to England (representing a *rente* of 3,000,000 francs), and 11,830,000 francs (£460,000) to Spain (representing a *rente* of 1,000,000 francs). It was an extraordinary result of these complicated and gigantic financial operations, that in the midst of them the public funds kept continually

rising, and were soon exhibited on the Bourse at the exhilarating figures of 78 and 80.

Whilst France thus incurred the weight of pecuniary obligations which long pressed heavily on her finances, but which she was content to bear, that she might escape the ignominy of a foreign thralldom, the discovery of a conspiracy against the person of the king startled tranquillity, and operated prejudicially on public credit. The minister Decazes had become a confirmed favourite with Louis XVIII., to the exclusion of almost every other influence, and as to him the altered tendencies of the royal mind were attributed, he engrossed the chief hatred of the Royalists. An obscure plot was formed to carry him off, and then to compel the king to change his ministers upon pain of being forced to abdicate. The principal person known to be engaged in the project was General Canuel; but its ramifications doubtless extended into higher quarters, and even ascended to the heir of the throne himself, according to a natural suspicion. The police obtained authentic intelligence of it long before it reached anything like maturity, and consequently before any persons of name or rank were directly implicated in it. Immediate measures were taken to suppress it in the bud; and on the 2d July several individuals concerned in it were arrested, including three military officers of some standing. The principal conspirator, Canuel, contrived to make his escape; but his papers were seized, and they proved sufficiently the existence of the plot. Louis XVIII. was extremely incensed at this demonstration of royalist treason, and only took more warmly to his heart the minister who had provoked so foul an enmity.

Of the estimation in which he held him he shortly gave the most decisive proof. A young lady had been just presented at court, the Demoiselle de St Aulaire, who united in her person those advantages of rank, fortune, and beauty which are occasionally clustered on one head. She was niece to the Duchess of Brunswick, the heiress of great wealth, and in the very bloom of youth. So rich a prize was fondly coveted by many, but Louis resolved that his favourite minister should be the successful wooer. He himself sent formally to demand for M. Decazes the hand of Mademoiselle de St Aulaire in marriage, and a request coming from so august a quarter could scarcely be gainsaid. The union was speedily arranged, with the full consent of the young bride's exalted relatives, for she had a large connection among the prolific brood of German princes who claim the privileged blood of sovereign houses. The Duchess of Brunswick repaired to Paris to be present at the nuptials; and upon the joint application of herself and Louis XVIII., the king of Denmark allowed the fief of Glucksbourg to be settled to the uses of the marriage, and the fortunate plebeian was straightway elevated to be Duke of Glucksbourg. The marriage was solemnised with almost regal

pomp in the chapel of the Luxembourg, and the king rejoiced at its auspicious conclusion more heartily perhaps than if it had concerned one of his own family.

From this interesting episode Louis and his minister Richelieu turned with increased earnestness to accomplish what they both rightly deemed the crowning exigency of the moment—the deliverance of the soil of France. In this patriotic attempt they were again doomed to encounter the malignant hostility of the Royalists. These latter had the unparalleled baseness to direct secret notes to the courts of the allied sovereigns, representing France to be in a state of dangerous fermentation, threatening another revolutionary outbreak; that Jacobinism was rapidly regaining the ascendant, and that it was rampant even in the councils of the king; that if the army of occupation were removed, the continuance of order and tranquillity was not to be expected. In support of these assertions they adduced the numerous outrages and disturbances which had occurred in various parts of France, and which were actually of royalist origin, though they sought to give them another character. They maintained, therefore, that not only should the army of occupation be continued, but that it seriously behoved the allied powers to ponder well the necessity of certain other alternatives as guarantees of the future peace of Europe. These were certainly of an astounding nature to emanate from Frenchmen, and show how blind and desperate factions can become when they are unable, by legitimate means, to attain the superiority they seek. And this is particularly remarkable in all extreme factions, whether of the despotic or the democratic hue, because neither rests upon the pure basis of reason, but is impelled by the force of passions which thirst for gratification at any cost.

First, then, was the question whether it would not be more safe to dismember France; and if that experiment were deemed undesirable, that the king should be at least changed. It was proved that representative government was unsuitable to France, and the Constitutional Charter was nothing more than a continuance and conservation of the Revolution, which ought to be utterly eradicated. If a complete return to the old monarchy were deemed hazardous or impracticable, or if it were judged unsuitable to dethrone the actual king, the conservative principles upon which the government ought to be conducted should be authoritatively pronounced, and a thorough change of ministers and measures demanded. To enable the sovereigns to enforce their resolutions, the army of occupation must be retained indefinitely, as the moment the territory was free, their coercive influence would cease. Thus it was proposed, in fact, that France should be governed by force, and that force a foreign army—an idea equally criminal and absurd. Indeed it would be difficult to

believe that any party of Frenchmen, however besotted in their understanding or wicked in their hearts, should have propounded such extraordinary suggestions if the fact were not absolutely authenticated. The notes were communicated by more than one of the cabinets to Richelieu himself, who made them public, and instituted judicial proceedings to discover their authors. Legal proof was wanting to fix the Count d'Artois with a guilty connivance, although moral proof was sufficiently abundant; as it was, a person high in his confidence was traced to be the actual writer of the documents, and he was divested by a royal ordinance of the dignities he held as a councillor of State and a member of the privy-council.

In the face of such exhortations, and with the undoubted tendencies of the sovereigns of Austria and Prussia, who were deeply repugnant to all systems of constitutional liberty, it was fortunate for France that among her recent enemies she had two enlightened friends. Alexander of Russia, albeit rapidly verging toward retrograde sentiments, was still possessed of a generous heart and a liberal mind, and was, moreover, fond of the display of a generosity which had perhaps ceased to be earnest with him. Besides, he had a real admiration of the French nation, and the echo of the applauses bestowed upon him in the theatres of Paris still vibrated in his ear. The Duke of Wellington, who has been the object of such virulent abuse to every order of French writers, had a profound appreciation of the existing state of things in France, and soundly judged that the time had arrived when the French people were entitled, by the patience they had manifested under most oppressive burthens, and by the judicious spirit that seemed generally to prevail, to be relieved from further coercion, and to be left for the future to themselves. This opinion he had every reason to believe was very unpalatable to his own government, but he nevertheless frankly expressed it when consulted by the allied sovereigns; and such was the estimation in which his character was held throughout Europe, that his testimony was deemed conclusive of the question. And indeed it could scarcely be otherwise, for, with a rare disinterestedness, he was voluntarily denuding himself of immense appointments, and of a position that gave him a commanding influence in the councils of France. Fortified by so important an assent, Richelieu and the king besieged Alexander with importunate letters; and by dint of their untiring activity, it was at length arranged that a congress should be held towards the close of the year at Aix-la-Chapelle, in which the four great powers should solemnly deliberate on the internal situation of France, on the security it gave for a happy continuance of peace and order, and on the policy of immediately withdrawing from her territory the remaining portion of the army of occupation.

During the month of September 1818, a vast tide of migration set in towards the ancient city of Charlemagne, which was startled from its mediæval repose, and stormed in all its quaint domiciles by a sudden confluence of strangers from every corner of Europe. All the legations were of unusual magnitude, notwithstanding that the real business to be discussed was already virtually settled. The Russian legation counted no less than five redoubtable diplomatists—Capo d'Istria, Nesselrode, Lieven, Alopeus, and Pozzo di Borgo. The British boasted as many: Wellington, Castlereagh, Canning, Planta, and Stewart. The Austrian was less numerous, containing only, as chiefs, Metternich and Vincent. So likewise the Prussian, which was filled by Hardenberg and Glötz. The French was formed by Richelieu, Rayneval, and Mounier. From the 20th these different negotiators began to arrive, and the 30th was fixed for the opening of the Congress. In the interim the king of Prussia made his appearance, and prepared to play the part of host in a city now included in his dominions. On the 28th, Alexander and the emperor of Austria made an imposing entry, and on the second day thereafter the conferences were formally opened.

With regard to the main point, the evacuation of the French territory, the question had been prejudged, and was adopted almost without discussion. On the evening of the 1st of October the important protocol was signed, fixing this evacuation to take place on or before the 30th of November ensuing, and it was immediately forwarded by express to Louis XVIII. It may be imagined that the king almost trembled with joy when he read it; and he at once wrote a letter to the Duke de Richelieu overwhelming him with thanks, concluding it in these words—'I have lived long enough, my dear duke, now that I behold France free, and the French flag again floating over every French fortress.' He had certainly good reason to rejoice at this auspicious fact, which might haply secure him a seat in the affections of the French sufficiently strong and enduring, not only to insure his own throne, but to impart a lasting stability to his dynasty.

The other questions relative to France were likewise adjusted without any difficulty. These were of a financial nature, and had reference to the prompt liquidation of the balance still due under the fourteenth article of the treaty of the 20th of November 1815. This had been a main inducement with Austria and Prussia to acquiesce so readily in the evacuation, and by the arrangements concluded with Baring and Hope it was easily effected. The 164,000,000 resulting from the *rente* of 12,400,000 francs were to be paid by drafts on Baring and Hope in nine monthly instalments, dating from the 6th of January next. Another 100,000,000, which were taken to cover every charge due by France, were to be paid by an inscription of *rentes* representing that sum accord-

ing to the price of stocks on the 5th of October 1818. By a subsequent convention, dated the 19th November, the term for the payment of the 164,000,000 was extended over eighteen months, in consequence of an unexpected panic that had seized upon the money-market, and plunged all financial and commercial affairs into the direst confusion.

After the principal questions incident to the Congress had been thus amicably arranged, and France formally received into the family of nations as a great and independent power, the Emperor Alexander continued his journey to Paris, where he was received with marked cordiality by Louis XVIII., and by the French generally with gratifying acclamations. He made, however, a very brief stay, and was succeeded in his visit by the king of Prussia, attended by one of his sons. The Grand Duke Constantine also appeared to renew his dissipations, and to squander money with barbaric profusion. Paris was thronged, as previously, with innumerable strangers, and never was that splendid capital the scene of greater gaiety, luxury, and magnificence, than in the winter of 1818.

Thus did France reap the fruit of all her painful sacrifices during the last three years, of her return to tranquillity and constitutional order, of her repudiation of violent doctrines, of her wise and judicious policy, of her scrupulous regard to good faith; and she was now again launched into the career of self-government, with all the advantages experience had taught her, of the value of liberal and settled institutions to the welfare, the comfort, and the prosperity of nations.

CHAPTER XIX.

DISSOLUTION OF THE RICHELIEU CABINET—MINISTRY OF DECAZES—ASSASSINATION OF THE DUKE DE BERRY—CONGRESS OF LAYBACH AND TROPPAU—INVASION OF NAPLES—MINISTRY OF VILLELE—CONGRESS OF VERONA, AND INVASION OF SPAIN—ROYALIST ASCENDANCY—DEATH OF LOUIS XVIII.—MATERIAL AND FINANCIAL STATE OF FRANCE—1818 to SEPTEMBER 1824.

But if the French people had now again their destiny in their own hands, after undergoing an ordeal of humiliation the most memorable in the history of modern nations, it was no necessary sequence that they had at all improved in wisdom, or had become apparently more sensible of the value of a temperate and orderly government. No sooner was the strong arm of repression withdrawn, and a certain freedom of action permitted, than the passions which had been only hushed, not extinguished, burst forth with renewed fury, and replunged the land into a never-ceasing revolution, oscillating with violent throes from the two extremes of the opposing poles, which, after verging once more on Jacobinism, staggered back to Royalism, and fastened for a gloomy time not only in France, but throughout Europe, the odious sway of despotism and priestcraft.

The Duke de Richelieu had rendered the great service to his country—which he was perhaps the only man in it capable of rendering—of freeing it from the presence and burthen of 150,000 foreign bayonets. To accomplish this important object, he had given reiterated pledges to Alexander and the other sovereigns at Aix-la-Chapelle, that although his ministry had severed itself from the ultra-Royalists, it was only that the country might be governed on moderate and constitutional principles, as deduced from the Charter of Louis XVIII., and that there was no danger of the fell spirit of republicanism being reawakened. This was precisely what the emperor desired, and what he was himself attempting to realise in his new kingdom of Poland, with but very indifferent success. Old apprehensions, however, still lingered in his mind, which continued touched with religious mysticism, and he foreboded evil from any union with, or undue encouragement to, ultra-liberalism. ‘My dear Richelieu,’ he said, ‘you are yourself all honesty and sincerity, and I trust implicitly on your word. I do not fear the development of liberal principles in France; I would rather wish to see them prosper, for I am a true Liberal myself. But I fear the Jacobins, and detest them;

have a care how you entangle yourself with them. Europe will tolerate no more Jacobinism. Nothing but a holy alliance of kings, founded on morality and Christianity, can maintain social order.'

In these words the autocrat gave Richelieu a warning which both bespoke his just appreciation of the French character and made a deep impression on the mind of the minister. In sooth, such are the rapid and unaccountable fluctuations in French tendencies, that whereas, three years ago, the Royalists exercised an uncontrolled supremacy, they were now completely crushed, and had no hope of a resurrection but in some violent overthrow of the existing government; whilst, on the other hand, the Constitutionalists were fast losing ground, and the Jacobins rising in the ascendant. Never has any nation given such decisive proof of incapacity to adhere to consistent or moderate principles, and of an irresistible tendency to embrace exaggerated doctrines, whatsoever may be their hue. Although a man of excellent capacity and enlightened views, Richelieu was unacquainted with his countrymen; and when he answered for them at the Congress of Aix-la-Chapelle, he little thought that within a month he would be the victim of a generous credulity, and would be obliged, from the dread of a responsibility he had not foreseen, to throw up a post he vainly contemplated would henceforth possess some features of attraction to console him for past anxieties and mortifications.

The annual renewal of a fifth of the Chamber of Deputies took place towards the close of 1818, and resulted in a large return of the ultra-liberal party, notwithstanding the most energetic measures of the government to carry its own candidates. The Royalists being themselves incapable of deciding the elections, threw in the weight of their influence against the ministry; and with such effect, that even in the departments of the west and north, in La Vendée and Brittany, men of the revolutionary stamp were returned, of whom Manuel and Lafayette were the most distinguished. After a very severe struggle in Paris, Benjamin Constant was defeated only by a small majority, the final numbers being, for M. Ternaux, his opponent, 3827, and for Constant, 3740. These elections gave not only umbrage, but profound alarm to the court; which interpreted them as undoubted indications of hostility to the Bourbon dynasty. Without exactly viewing the danger in so serious a light, the king was himself uneasy, and held many anxious conferences with his ministers, among whom a decided difference of opinion existed. From long residence in a country where all authority emanates from a single will, and, above all, from his deference to the sentiments of Alexander and his allies, who engrossed perhaps an undue share of his apprehensions and sympathies, Richelieu advised an imme-

diate departure from the hitherto liberal policy of the cabinet, and a modification of the electoral law, whereby the hazard of unsafe returns might be averted. This he considered absolutely essential to save the Restoration from another downfall: but Decazes held an entirely different view of the matter. This minister, who by birth belonged to the middle class of society, was inclined to take the more popular side of the question, and to maintain that the government, instead of retrograding, should still advance, and win the confidence of the country by further enlightened concessions. Various causes induced Louis XVIII. eventually to coincide in this latter opinion. *First*, his quarrel with the Royalists had become even more aggravated from the recent annihilation of the Count d'Artois's influence as commander of the National Guards; *secondly*, his own prepossessions were in favour of a progressive policy; for, to do this monarch justice, he was especially intent to be the king of a nation, and not of a faction; *thirdly*, his personal predilection for Decazes was an element of some weight, although he entertained for Richelieu and his character the highest regard and esteem.

The new Chamber of Deputies, which occasioned this disturbance of the ministerial unanimity, was in truth very singularly compounded. In a country like England, where parties have existed for centuries, it is easy to assign their relative positions and principles; but in France such distinctions are more difficult to draw, since there no historical associations knit men together in confederacies, and rarely antecedent relations tend to sink personal ambitions in general purposes. Thus every man aspires to play an important part, and to do so, sets up for himself as a political power, arrogating some wisdom superior to that of his fellows. In this difficulty of identification the French have invented appellations to describe the different 'colours' of an Assembly, drawn from their divisional localities in the hall of sitting. Thus they present an 'extreme-right,' signifying ultra-Royalists; a 'right,' signifying Conservative or Retrogressive Monarchists; a 'centre-right,' signifying Conservative Liberals; a 'centre-left,' signifying Progressive Liberals; a 'left,' signifying Democratic Liberals; an 'extreme-left,' signifying ultra-Liberals and Republicans. At this time another division existed called the 'Doctrinaires,' who found it very difficult to tell how they differed from the 'centre-left,' but who formed, nevertheless, a powerful section of the Chamber, acknowledging as their leader Royer-Collard. Continual fluctuations occurred in the composition of these sections, as individuals changed in their caprices or tendencies; and it was not an uncommon thing for a man to box the entire compass of the hall in the course of a few sessions, gradually shifting his quarter as the needle of pique or interest pointed, or taking a flying leap at once from one

extremity to the other. Hence the extraordinary combinations witnessed in the modern history of France, in which individualities are lost and confounded, and in which the stern realities of principle seem sacrificed to any other minor, temporary, or grosser impulse.

For a government to conduct the business of a country with such an Assembly upon any distinct and undeviating policy, was very difficult, since it must needs truckle and tamper to catch a sufficient number of the 'colours' to obtain a majority. Herein lay the dilemma of Louis XVIII. at this critical moment of his reign. He was not a Cromwell or a Napoleon, or he might have cut the Gordian Knot with his sword. As it was, he had the choice of two courses—either to make his peace with the Royalists, and form a ministry which should command their suffrages with those of the 'right' and the 'centre-right;' or to stride yet more boldly on the onward path, and enlist the support of the 'left' and 'centre-left' together with that of the Doctrinaires. This latter alternative he adopted; and accordingly a new administration was formed, of which M. Decazes, as minister of the interior, was in reality the chief, but of which General Dessolle was the nominal head. The latter was recommended by Richelieu as likely to be personally acceptable to the Emperor Alexander. The ministry of police was abolished, as an odious department which recalled the worst days of anarchy and tyranny. De Serres was appointed keeper of the seals; Baron Portal, minister of marine; Baron Louis, minister of finance; Gouvion St Cyr retained the war department. The committees of the Council of State were modified, and composed almost exclusively of the Doctrinaire and centre-left 'colour.' They comprised many eminent men, some of whom were members of the Chamber, and others not. Among the most distinguished were Royer-Collard, Cuvier, Portalis, Camille-Jordan, and General Dumas. Decazes selected for assistants in the ministry of the interior two men whose names figured very prominently in the subsequent history of France—Guizot and Villemain. The first had the communal and departmental administration confided to him; the latter held the department of letters, which included the charge of education and the press. Thus constituted, the new ministry prepared to face with tolerable assurance the formidable Chamber of 1819.

The session had commenced on the 10th of December 1818; but owing to the delay in completing the ministerial arrangements, no business was transacted until the middle of January, when the first measure passed was one for granting the Duke de Richelieu a national recompense, in the shape of an annuity of 50,000 francs settled on himself and his male heirs—which was equivalent to a grant for life only, as he was without issue. This was in itself a very noble testimony to his merits, and reflected

great honour upon the legislature which conferred it. The ministerial programme was of a sufficiently liberal cast, and embraced two very important measures—one for defining and regulating ministerial responsibility, the other on the eternal subject of the liberty of the press. But the primary exigency with the Dessolle cabinet was to fight for an existence, which was menaced by a redoubtable attack at the very moment of its birth.

The Chamber of Peers had hitherto supported, somewhat surlily it is true, the Richelieu ministry in its liberal policy; but now that the prestige of his lineage and name was withdrawn, it openly rebelled. By concert with the Royalists, Barthélemy, the old diplomatist and director of the Republic, introduced a motion, since famous in history as *Barthélemy's Proposition*, declaring that the electoral law had been found productive of inconvenience, and that it ought to be amended. This motion was vehemently contested by M. Decazes, who denounced it as of the most fatal import if carried; but it passed, notwithstanding, by the large majority of 89 to 49. By another demonstration on a vote of credit, the peers evinced their unalterable hostility towards the new cabinet, and it became incumbent on the latter to decide what course to pursue in the emergency. For the same reason that the peers were inimical, the deputies were favourable, and the proposition was rejected in the Lower House by a large majority, which included Lafayette and the whole of the extreme-left. At the same time many of the moderate party voted for the proposition, particularly the personal adherents of the Duke de Richelieu; and the cabinet, therefore, was reduced to the unpleasant alternative of either at once retiring before the opposition of the peers, or of beating it down, and throwing itself into the arms of the ultra-Liberals.

The latter step, if adopted, necessarily involved a large creation of new peers, to which Louis XVIII. was greatly averse. However, the influence of Decazes prevailed with him, and he consented to this extraordinary stretch of his prerogative. It was at first proposed that all the peers excluded from the Chamber in July 1815 should be restored; but to this the king decidedly objected, for he cherished certain antipathies which he refused to forego. Two of the peers who remained under the ban of exclusion bore ancient names—the Duke de Praslin and the Count de Segur—the first of which afterwards acquired so tragic an interest, the latter already famous in the annals of war. A goodly number, however, were restored, and with a few new creations they formed a batch of sixty, suddenly thrown into the Chamber to swamp the existing majority. Such a proceeding might well arouse the ire of the Royalists, who declaimed with a fury which was without bounds. But it might have been expected to give unmixed satisfaction to the whole liberal party, in whose interest

it was taken : yet with that insatiable spirit, that desire to censure, which characterises extreme factions, Lafayette and the ultras condemned it likewise, for no better reason than that it fell short of an entire revocation of the ordinance of 15th July 1815. In this they exemplified a conduct which was most prejudicial to the wellbeing of France, and by which they at length rendered the government of the Restoration impossible, without crushing them. They never considered the delicate position of the ministry, never allowed for any of its difficulties, never accepted with the least gratitude any of its boons ; on the contrary, they abused and maligned it as fiercely as the Royalists themselves, with whom, indeed, they often voted against ministerial measures. Thus were inordinately increased the embarrassments which beset this liberal ministry of the Restoration, exposed to the bitter and incessant hostility of the whole court, in which the unfortunate king was its only friend, and who did violence to his natural feelings of affection by remaining estranged from his dearest relatives.*

Hence the reproach that has been often alleged against the government of the Restoration, that it never attempted to act according to the altered spirit of the times, to swim with the current of opinions, to emancipate itself from old trammels and prejudices, is in fact untrue, and a reactionary policy was forced upon it by the violent and unreasonable conduct of the ultra-Liberals ; who, with a total disregard of circumstances, or with sinister revolutionary designs, thwarted and decried every measure which failed to tally with their own exaggerated notions. In reality, a Bourbon government was incompatible with them, and they continued against its benefits with more animosity than they would have done against its worst faults ; for they were a mixture of Republicans and Bonapartists, whom nothing could satisfy that came to them from a government pluming itself on 'legitimacy.' No doubt the doctrine of legitimacy is a very absurd and untenable one in principle, yet in monarchies it is an essential condition of stability, and it was quite impossible for the Bourbons to abdicate the pretension. They reigned by virtue of it, if they reigned upon any other basis than that of foreign conquest ; and therefore it was most unwise in these men, for the advancement of their own asserted principles, or for the sake of

* Poor Louis gives a melancholy picture of himself in a letter he wrote about this time :—' I may be permitted to speak of the state of my health,' he says ; ' not for the purpose of complaining, but to serve as an excuse for any faults I may have committed in the present difficult conjuncture. On the 12th I felt a twinge of gout ; it was trifling for three days, and I hoped it would prove nothing, but on the evening of the 15th the pain became excessive, and then began the condition which I will describe to you : continued agony, no sleep, no appetite, burning fever, and an utter prostration of all moral and physical power. Such has been my condition for upwards of a week.'—*Mém. of Louis XVIII.*, vol. II. p. 342.

their own ulterior projects, not to afford a steady support to the liberal ministry of M. Decazes, by which such a progress might have been made, that a counter-movement would have been rendered impracticable, or at least most hazardous and difficult.

Assuredly among the men of the extreme-left there were some who were honest enough in their opposition, and who were far from desiring a fresh revolution; and of these Lafayette and Constant may be instanced. The former had not improved one iota in sagacity or judgment since the great lesson he had received in 1792; he was still the same vain and silly personage, honest withal, and of true sincerity, who could be played upon as a dupe by the designing, and thrust aside the moment he was no longer necessary. The latter possessed great power and vigour as a writer, and was unquestionably a man of real talent and capacity. But from the very nature of things he was a dogmatist, and could not admit the virtue of any systems but his own. The best and soundest of dogmas are not always applicable to a nation or a society, and it is the chief faculty of a statesman to discern the precise time when measures of paramount import are feasible and expedient, for otherwise they will surely fail to be either judicious or salutary.

Besides its political tendencies, the Decazes ministry advanced other claims to the gratitude and respect of France. In its internal administration it presented an enlightened activity which gave a vast impulse to the development of her resources. Boards of trade, of agriculture, of arts, and of science, were formed for the encouragement of the various branches of industry which are conducive to national wealth, and these were composed indifferently of men suited by information and habits to exercise a useful superintendence, without regard to their political opinions. A general exhibition of manufactures of every description was instituted to take place at Paris once at least every four years, with prizes attached for competition; and the first of the series was held in 1819, at which the king and the royal family were frequent visitors. A new municipal organisation was intrusted for preparation to M. Guizot; and the National Guard was placed, under the inspection of a committee, on its primitive footing of a simple municipal militia. Several new chairs were founded at the university, and a great expansion given to general education under the intelligent and active auspices of Royer-Collard and Villemain. Above all, a board of prisons was established for the better regulation of jails and criminals—a philanthropic object, which had never hitherto occupied the attention of any government in France. This was subsequently extended into the Royal Society of Prisons, of which the Duke d'Angoulême was appointed president. France no doubt has possessed many more able and discreet administrators than Decazes, but none that has

excelled him in true liberality and enlightenment of mind, or was actuated by a more sincere desire to confer on her all the beneficial results of a rational freedom.

Unfortunately France was quite unable to appreciate the value of such a minister, and he assuredly gave her the fullest scope to judge dispassionately of his merits. The periodical press was restored to such a state of liberty as permitted the ample and unrestricted discussion of all topics, under certain guarantees of registration and deposit, whilst all prosecutions for libels were to be adjudicated by a jury. The regicides and other exiles were allowed to return upon making application to the personal clemency of the king, which was scarcely in any instance refused. The necessity of this application gave rise to much wild declamation on the part of the extreme-left, and doubtless it would have been much better to repeal at once all the detestable laws of 1815; but Louis was fond of exercising his prerogative, and he took especial pleasure in according these individual graces. Tallien, the hero of the 9th Thermidor, was one of those who availed themselves of this privilege, and he reappeared at Paris in a state of dismal poverty. The king relieved his necessities, for he had held a correspondence with him in 1794, when Tallien had engaged to promote his return; but he was deeply execrated by the Royalists in general, as the massacre of the prisoners of Quiberon had taken place under his auspices. Another wretched creature embraced the same amnesty—Panis, one of the seven ruffians who signed the bloody circular of September 1792. Indeed not even under the Consulate was the policy of forgetting and forgiving carried to such an extent: in the army, and in all the departments of the State, if any preference were shown, it seemed to be in favour of those who had borne arms and played parts in the various dramas of the Revolution, not excepting the last and most galling to the Royalists—that of the Hundred Days.

But no acts or manifestations of the government of Louis XVIII. could save it from the furious assaults of the enemies who had ranged themselves on each side of it, and assailed it with a cross-fire from either flank. No sooner were the shackles removed from the periodical press, than up rose fifty journals to level daily missiles at its devoted head, until such a clang of tongues was heard as had not been paralleled since the disorderly days of the Directory. It is an unfortunate peculiarity of the French press, that whenever it has been even comparatively free, it has been distinguished for violence and falsehood beyond that of any other country in which the liberty of the press is permitted. This has arisen no doubt from the superior virulence of the passions that have been engendered in the course of the long intestine feuds which have distracted France; but it cannot justify, although it may be held to palliate, the flagrant vice. In the

art of misrepresenting and calumniating, assuredly the French journalists stand pre-eminent. In the early stages of the Revolution it was used with fatal effect against Louis XVI. and Marie-Antoinette, who were continually charged with language and actions the pure invention of malignant slanderers. The same system has been continued under every government save those of Terror and Napoleon, when the voice of censure was hushed equally with that of truth, down to the very last, whose crash still resounds through the world. The existence of so horrible an abuse proves a low state of education among the general public, as it is ignorance only that can be played upon by such vile arts; and yet, from the large sums annually voted for the purposes of national education, the French ought to be one of the best instructed nations on the earth. But the fact is palpably otherwise; and they are in reality a very ill-informed people, and particularly the population of Paris, which is so easily wrought to madness by unscrupulous demagogues. It is a system, nevertheless, which, albeit crowned with temporary successes, is doomed to eventual defeat and infamy, for it has been surely willed that the cause of falsehood shall not flourish.

From this sweeping reprobation are of course to be excepted numerous journals which have gained an honourable reputation for both ability and probity, some of which started into existence under the fostering ministry of M. Decazes. The 'Constitutionnel' and the 'Journal des Débats' both began to acquire their chief fame at this period: the first as the expression of the 'left,' and hostile, but only slightly so, to the ministry; the second as the organ of the Royalist aristocracy, under the brilliant editorship of Chateaubriand. But by a host of other scurrilous prints, which have long since passed into merited oblivion, the administration was ruthlessly assailed, every species of crime, even of the most opposite characters, being charged upon it. Decazes, as the more prominent member of the cabinet, was the principal object of attack. By the Royalists he was accused of deceiving the king, and of purposely betraying him into the path of destruction; by the Jacobins he was maligned as a minion of royalty, a profligate, a corruptionist, and everything that was odious. The passion these latter sought chiefly to stimulate was the Bonapartist, in which they were powerfully aided by the immortal odes of Béranger, and very damaging comparisons were drawn between the reign of the great Emperor and that of the fat Louis, the 'foreign' king. Such was the excitement produced by this revival of polemic warfare, to which France had been so long unaccustomed, so deep the agitation pervading all classes of men, convulsed, as it were, by a tempestuous explosion, that if the form of Napoleon had again appeared, rising from the waste of waters, at its bare aspect the throne of the Restoration had crumbled and vanished in a general havoc.

Not France alone, but every country in Europe, was in a state of dangerous perturbation during this remarkable year of 1819. In Germany innumerable secret societies existed, whose object was, by a universal revolution, to conquer the liberties its monarchs had so treacherously withheld. Such societies had been encouraged by the governments when the Emperor of the French held them in vassalage, and even princes were proud to be enrolled as members of the Tugendbund; but now they were denounced, and every severity taken to suppress them. Two assassinations caused the feeling of alarm to increase to a complete consternation, and in their fears the courts adopted the most oppressive measures to crush the rising spirit of the people. The poet Kotzebue, and Ibell, who were execrated as the defenders and instruments of despotism, fell under the knives of two assassins, the first mortally wounded. Although both the culprits denied, and there was no evidence to prove, that these murders were other than the result of individual impulse, or had anything to do with the secret societies, the fact was assumed to be otherwise, and the opportunity was seized to commence a general persecution of all the most eminent men in Germany who were known to entertain liberal opinions. A congress was summoned to meet at Carlsbad, in which Austria and Prussia compelled the minor States to follow their example, and to establish a direct tyranny among their several communities. From this moment every trace of freedom was extinguished in Germany, and the populations which had so heroically aided to emancipate Europe were delivered up to a brood of despots, who long ruled over them with leaden dulness.

In Italy an equal fermentation prevailed. The famous societies of the Carbonari abounded in spite of all the efforts of the governments to eradicate them, and a general rising was planned, which succeeded in part of the peninsula during the following year. In Spain a similar organisation was in progress, which in like manner exploded in a successful revolt next year. But Great Britain was in a more terrible state than any other country. In almost all her large towns very serious riots occurred, and at Manchester a horrible massacre of the people was executed by a body of yeomanry, a force almost exclusively composed of persons engaged in agriculture. The passing of the iniquitous corn-law had arrayed in deadly hostility the rural and urban populations; but the former had the advantage of enjoying parliamentary favour, and was armed, whilst to the latter the assumption of weapons, even to a sword-cane, was sternly prohibited. Thus the aristocracy took unexampled means to uphold its supremacy—first, by making the general community pay an artificial price for bread; and secondly, by marshalling a force of selfish retainers to quell opposition, if any demur was made to bear the extravagant

burthen. The history of aristocratic governments is replete with instances of sordid and cruel policy, but nothing can be adduced in ancient or modern times to vie with the edictal savagery of the British oligarchy at the era of which we now treat.

Such were the circumstances under which the annual renewal of the Chamber of Deputies in France was to be effected. The result of this political operation was of gloomy augury to the existing ministry, and indeed to the dynasty itself. The Royalists pursued the insane course common to extreme factions, the same by which the court of Louis XVI. had earlier precipitated his ruin, the policy which has been called the Pessimist—namely, that of supporting the candidates of the extreme-left, to insure the defeat of the Ministerialists or Constitutionalists. Their journals openly preached the doctrine that Jacobins were to be preferred, because they would produce a crisis which might turn out favourably for themselves. In this way some most remarkable returns of violent democrats were made to the Chamber; but the one which created the greatest excitement was that of the Abbé Gregoire, who united in his own person all the conditions most abhorrent to the Bourbon family. He was not only a regicide, but he was likewise a priest who had taken the civil oath of the clergy as ordained by the Constituent Assembly—a delinquency greater even than the former in the sight of pious Catholics. This election, combined with others of a similar character, filled the mind of Louis XVIII. with the gravest alarm; and for the first time during several months he provoked a conversation with his brother on the situation of affairs. The Count d'Artois recognised the arrival of a crisis which he had long foreboded and foretold: nothing remained to save the monarchy but an immediate alteration of men and measures, and particularly a fundamental modification of the electoral law, which had been perverted to such dangerous abuses. In this latter opinion the king saw good reason to concur, for he judged that the time was indeed come when a vigorous policy must be pursued to avert an inevitable catastrophe. But he was not disposed to abandon Decazes, nor did D'Artois too strenuously insist upon it; and this favourite minister was still intrusted by the royal confidence to undertake the responsible duty of undoing his own work. In truth Decazes shared the altered sentiments of his master, and was convinced that a further continuance of his liberal policy was impossible; at the same time he wished that the existing cabinet should remain as it then stood, and with this view proposed to his colleagues the adoption of such minor changes in the law only as were likely to meet their general acquiescence. But three of them, Dessolles, St Cyr, and Louis, positively refused to admit any alteration of the law; and adhering to this determination in a cabinet council held in the presence of the king himself, they

tendered their resignations, which were at once accepted, and Decazes was gratified in the highest object of his ambition by being appointed prime-minister.

The task thus boldly assumed by Decazes was one surrounded by almost insurmountable difficulties. The Royalists were so deeply incensed against him personally, that he could expect no assistance from them; whilst the Doctrinaires even were inclined to hold aloof, both from the rigour of those principles which forbid them to allow for the exigencies of circumstances, and from the individual discontents and caprices which prompted them, and to which they gave way, more perhaps than any other political party—of which the abrupt retirement of Royer-Collard from the presidency of the Board of General Instruction was a pregnant example. The minister, therefore, was reduced to rely for support on the centre-right, and on such of the centre-left as might be disposed to follow him in his reactionary course. On this account he selected his new colleagues from these two ‘colours:’ Baron Pasquier was nominated to the ministry of foreign affairs, M. Roy to that of finance, and Latour-Maubourg to that of war; the two latter being, from their characters and associations, decidedly acceptable to the whole left of the Chamber. MM. Portal and De Serres retained their former offices; and thus by the middle of November the new administration was completed, and on the 29th of that month the king opened the session in person.

In his speech he plainly indicated the new policy upon which he had resolved to enter. ‘The moment is come,’ he said, ‘to strengthen the Chamber of Deputies, and protect it from the annual action of parties, by assuring it a duration more conformable to the public interests and the external consideration of the State. Upon the zeal and energy of the two Chambers, upon their intimate union with my government, I rely to procure the means of saving public liberty from licentiousness, of consolidating the monarchy, and of giving to all interests guaranteed by the Charter the profound security we owe to it.’ Nevertheless the Royalists declaimed against the temperate terms in which the speech was couched as ambiguous; whereas the extreme-left denounced it, on the other hand, as an unequivocal manifesto against public freedom. The junction of these parties would have been fatal to the ministry at its very outset, but that the Doctrinaires, after some demur, agreed to support it, and so secured it a majority to carry the responsive address to the crown.

The election of M. Gregoire, although hailed as an insulting triumph over the government of the Restoration, was not very agreeable even to his own friends; and by a sort of general understanding it was determined to annul his return. This was happily effected by a subterfuge, which prevented the necessity of

adducing the real motive of his expulsion. By the Charter one-half of the deputies returned for each department were required to have a local domicile therein; and it being found that this proportion was already exhausted for the department of the Isère, which had elected Gregoire, he was declared ineligible to sit. The Royalists seized the opportunity of indulging in furious invectives against regicides in general, and against apostate priests in particular; but by this adroit artifice the obnoxious presence of M. Gregoire was got rid of with a politic quietness, and without provoking a discussion of topics that might have led to a dangerous agitation.

The battle of the session commenced on the momentous question of the electoral law. The project, as at first digested by the cabinet, was in accordance with the views of the Doctrinaires, of whom M. de Serres was the most direct expression, and who so completely held the balance in their hands, that it was necessary to conciliate them. Indeed negotiations were pending to absorb Royer-Collard and one or two others of the phalanx into the ministry, when unexpected events caused the whole combination to fall to pieces. The ultra-Liberals of every kind—Patriots, Independents, Bonapartists, Republicans—whatsoever their denomination or secret tendency, joined in one unanimous cry for the maintenance of the electoral law, which they upheld as the only bulwark of French liberties, although they had decried it with equal unanimity upon its first enactment. Petitions embodying this prayer were circulated through all parts of the country, and forwarded in droves for presentation to the Chamber of Deputies. Some of these petitions were expressed in very violent language, such as almost to recall that of the old sections and Jacobins in their diatribes to the Convention. ‘Representatives,’ it was said in one of these addresses, ‘you are about to decide by your conduct whether the people may confide in you as faithful mandatories, or whether, acting as parricides, and betraying your oaths and the law which has created you, you will become in their eyes the vile agents of a guilty power.’ The presentation of these inflammatory documents occasioned constant debates and scenes of turbulence, by which a prodigious excitement was kept up in the public mind, and in which the inherent weakness of the ministry, dependent for its hourly existence upon the support of heterogeneous fractions of the Chamber, was made deplorably manifest. Outside, the license of the press surpassed all former precedent, and rarely has such a hurricane of polemics swept the political atmosphere of a State and convulsed the fabric of society as in France during this phase of her perennial madness.

It was during this frightful storm of party fanaticism, in which the monarchy of Louis XVIII. seemed rocking to destruction, that an event occurred which threatened to involve it in eventual, if not

premature extinction. Of the two sons of the Count d'Artois, the Duke de Berry alone presented any chance of continuing the elder line of his House; but his wife had already cruelly deceived the hopes formed from her pregnancy by an abortive birth, although, in September 1819, she had been safely delivered of a daughter. Over this first mishap, which sensibly affected the serenity of Louis, the Patriots and Revolutionists exulted with malignant joy, whilst the Royalists had mourned it with impassioned grief. Upon the life of the Duke de Berry, therefore, hung the solitary hope of an heir to the dynasty, a suggestive fact, which was continually alluded to with sinister auguries. In a period of great excitement like the present, there are always individuals apt to interpret literally vague innuendoes and denunciations, and to consider they will perform a meritorious duty by immolating a victim who is represented as an obstacle to their country's welfare. Such a one was Louvel, a journeyman saddler, who armed himself with a dagger to kill the unfortunate prince he had been learnt to regard as of blighting promise to the destinies of France. Planting himself at the door of the Opera-House on the evening of the 13th of February 1820, he awaited the duke as he led the duchess to his carriage, and with fatal aim struck him a mortal wound. He survived, however, a sufficient time to be conveyed to the Tuileries, and he expired in the presence of Louis and all his family. His young wife abandoned herself to an affliction which was inconsolable, and the poignancy of which imbibited the last moments of her murdered husband.

This horrible catastrophe led inevitably to the almost immediate ruin of M. Decazes, although the Royalists, in the intensity of their hatred, accused him of being privy and accessory to the crime. One of them, indeed, M. Clausel de Coussergues, actually moved his formal impeachment as an accomplice of Louvel, and was scarcely induced to withdraw the motion by the general disapprobation of the Chamber. But Decazes and the king also judged with sufficient acumen that he must be made a sacrifice to the wrath of the Royalists, for it was now clear that an approximation with them could be no longer avoided. The minister, however, determined to make an effort to keep his position, and with that view immediately introduced measures of repression, both with regard to individual liberty and the press, into the two Chambers. But nothing could appease the anger of the Royalists against him, and they insisted imperiously upon his dismissal; and as the Doctrinaires refused to support him in his repressive measures, he had no alternative but to resign. The king gave him all his friendship to the very last, and parted from him with deep regret. He created him a duke of the French kingdom, and conferred on him the honourable post of ambassador to the court of Great Britain. Such was the final fall of M. Decazes,

who, during his long administration of the affairs of France, manifested a liberal and enlightened spirit, and assuredly, of all royal favourites, appears to have been the least intent to rule upon arbitrary or corrupt principles. Towards the close of his career, he was forced, by the violence of party manifestations, to retrace his steps, and act upon a reactionary policy; but this would have been probably only temporary, had not such political vacillation; always injurious to the personal consideration of a statesman, irretrievably impaired the stability of his parliamentary position, and had not an appalling event deprived him of the last hope of longer withstanding the envenomed hostility of the Royalists, whom it was his merit to have enraged beyond the possibility of forgiveness.

Content with satiating their vengeance on Decazes, these latter allowed the ministry to stand almost exactly as under that chief, his department of the ministry of interior being given to Count Simeon, with whom was associated the young Mounier, son of the celebrated Monarchist of that name in the National Assembly of Versailles. The Duke de Richelieu consented, at the urgent intreaty of the king, to accept the post of president of the council, first exacting from the Count d'Artois a solemn pledge that the Royalists would abstain from thwarting him by a factious opposition. This they could the more readily undertake, since it was impossible for them as yet to seize the absolute direction of affairs, and they required such a transition ministry as that of M. de Richelieu promised to be. As is usual in such cases, the assassination of the Duke de Berry created a great reaction in favour of the Royalist cause, and threw upon that of the Liberals a corresponding odium. It tended to effect a material change in the relative situation of parties, and in the distribution of the Chamber of Deputies. The minute fractions became more fused into compact phalanxes, and presented two bodies in direct antagonism. The right, or ministerial side, embraced the centre-right and part of the centre-left; whilst the left, or opposition side, comprehended all the other more liberal fragments. By these combinations they became very nearly balanced in numerical strength, and during the whole of the session the fate of the ministry hung upon a narrow and precarious majority.

The new ministry of course proceeded with the measures of the last. These were the old laws of repression against the liberty of the press and individual freedom, and a modification of the existing law of election. As it was deemed essential to pass the former with all despatch, they were pushed rapidly forward; and as the majority in the Chamber of Peers was more secure, they were first discussed in it. A strong opposition, nevertheless, existed among the peers, composed principally of those called to the Chamber by M. Decazes; and the law suspending

the liberty of the press commanded 64 opposing votes against 136. In the Chamber of Deputies a formidable struggle was made against it, the principal orators on the opposition side being Benjamin Constant and General Foy, who first distinguished himself by his brilliant oratory during this session. The ministers found it incumbent to yield certain amendments, and the entire project was passed only by a majority of 136 to 110. It re-established the censorship in all its strictness, but was to expire with the next session of the legislature. In the same manner the law authorising arrests on warrants signed by ministers of state, which was equivalent to a suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act in Great Britain, was carried with difficulty, and endowed with only a temporary existence.

But the electoral law supplied the topic of fiercest strife, since it was to decide which party should have a preponderance for the future in the national representation. It was debated during the whole session, and occasioned a dangerous ferment among the population of Paris, which it was industriously sought by the ultra-Liberals to inflame into a veritable insurrection. The trial of Louvel before the Chamber of Peers also contributed to keep alive excitement; and in the beginning of June tumultuous assemblages gathered, principally around the Chamber of Deputies, which were not dispersed without considerable bloodshed. The execution of Louvel took place on the 7th of June, and the greatest precautions were taken by a large distribution of the military to suppress any disturbance. The assassin manifested an extraordinary coolness as he mounted the scaffold, and laid his head in the groove of the guillotine with an air of composure which filled the multitude with gaping admiration.

The electoral project did not emerge from the legislature as a law until the 29th of June. As it was finally passed, it operated a very considerable change in the representative system of France, but very nearly precipitated that popular outbreak which was afterwards so effectual with its barricades. The apathy of the people of the faubourgs, who took little interest in a matter which concerned them so remotely, alone saved Paris from a bloody conflict, and perhaps from a revolution. The incidents of the discussion were of an unusually exciting character. An amendment of Camille-Jordan, of Doctrinaire invention, was carried against the ministry by a majority of 1, by 128 votes against 127. It became, therefore, a question of life or death to the Richelieu administration, and involved, indeed, the continuance of a moderate government, since any change must needs be made in an extreme tendency, for the Doctrinaires were simply the tools of the extreme-left in provoking a crisis. The grand dogma of the Doctrinaires was that of direct election, whereas the Royalists were resolute in demanding the indirect

election, by the system of two colleges. An ingenious compromise was proposed between the two parties, which, after much private negotiation, was adopted, and formed the basis of the new law. The two orders of electoral colleges were restored—that of the *arrondissement* and that of the *department*; which latter was composed of one-fifth of the electors paying the highest amount of taxation, and thus comprehending exclusively the wealthiest proprietors of each district. These departmental colleges returned 172 members, whilst the *arrondissement* colleges continued to return, as before, 258, thus increasing the number of deputies to 430. This was an undoubted violation of the spirit of the Charter, which had established an equality of electoral rights, since it threw immediately into the hands of the aristocracy at least two-fifths of the Chamber, and was sure to form a body more conservative or retrogressive even than the Chamber of Peers, whose particular province it was to check the popular impulses of the lower Assembly. The *Doctrinaires* seem to have had a very imperfect forecast of the practical working of the measure; but the Royalist leaders clearly anticipated all the advantages to their party they subsequently reaped from it.

Such was the form of constitution given to the French nation in the year 1820, being another experiment to try whether it might be haply fettered within the bounds of a discreet and temperate legislation. The measure had been forced upon the government of Louis XVIII., which, after the failure of M. Decazes to conduct it on moderate and liberal principles, was obliged, in pure self-defence, to adopt a reactionary policy. It cannot be blamed, for self-preservation is an instinct of governments as well as of individuals; and there cannot be a doubt that its downfall was in the contemplation of some, if not of all the leaders of the ultra-Liberal party. The conspiracy at this time was in its real essence unquestionably Bonapartist, since it was not until a subsequent date that a permanent conspiracy was organised against all settled governments, whatever their character, and which was intent to establish the rule of democratic tyranny at any cost of blood or effort. Several of the extreme-left were completely innocent of any such conspiracy—such, for instance, as Constant or Casimir-Perier—but were really animated by a love of liberty, blind to all consequences or contingencies. It is through these sincere advocates of human freedom that the cause of the desperate Revolutionist is served; and never has that fact been so strikingly exemplified as in the history of France. Thus during the dangerous riots of June, the conduct of the government in suppressing them was denounced in the most furious terms; and as the students of the University were the principal authors of the disturbances, Benjamin Constant had the inexpressible folly to pronounce on

them a glowing eulogium, in which he seemed to regard them as the destined saviours of the liberties of the country. The violent and seditious practices of these students were the immediate cause of a measure being taken by the ministry, which is the most obnoxious to censure of any taken by it during its administration. Deeming the tone of their lectures on history and philosophy too latitudinarian, whereas it was only truthful, searching, and exalted, the Board of Public Instruction suspended Guizot and Cousin from their professorships, and at the same time, with more show of propriety, instituted regulations for the internal economy of the University, similar to those issued at Carlsbad for the effective supervision of the unruly and frenetical alumni of the German universities.

The imminent dangers besetting the government received a further development by the discovery in August of a military conspiracy, formed among several officers and sub-officers of the regiments in and around Paris, including even the Royal Guard, with the design of seizing the king and the royal family, and setting up a provisional government under the ægis of Napoleon's great name. The constant rumours which were insidiously circulated of the late Emperor's escape from St Helena (and undoubtedly sundry enterprises were planned for carrying him off), and his speedy arrival in France, gave rise to incessant schemes of this description, which show how intimately connected with the peace of Europe was the secure custody of that most redoubtable personage. The leading persons implicated in this conspiracy were all apprehended in their barracks on the eve of the day appointed for its execution; but instead of being delivered over to courts-martial for trial, before which they would have been assuredly condemned to death, the Chamber of Peers was erected into a State-tribunal, to adjudicate more leniently upon their crime. It was known that higher personages were privy to this plot; but the judicious course was pursued of dropping a veil over such compromising revelations, and of avoiding the entanglements of prosecutions against national celebrities.

As was natural, the perturbed state of affairs in France attracted the anxious attention of the European cabinets, which were filled with other causes of solicitude for the stability of thrones. The assassination of the Duke de Berry was an event in itself calculated to create alarm, and it preyed gloomily on the mind of Alexander especially, who was himself haunted with apprehensions of a like fate. Moreover, a military revolt in Spain had led to the overthrow of despotism and the Inquisition, King Ferdinand being compelled to proclaim the constitution established by the Cortes at Cadiz in 1812, to which he took a solemn oath henceforth religiously to adhere. In Naples also, Ferdinand IV. had been fain to quiet his rebellious subjects by the grant of a consti-

tution; in Piedmont a similar movement was in preparation; and in Portugal a complete revolution had been already effected. These startling events occurring in quick succession, struck with consternation the sovereigns of Austria and Prussia, who earnestly intreated the autocrat of Russia to meet them in a congress, to deliberate on the impending dangers. After some delay, this congress was appointed to be held at Troppau, and it was accordingly opened there in the autumn of 1820. All the monarchs were present, but the ruling spirit of the conferences was the Austrian minister Metternich, an absolutist of the most imperative order. It being resolved to interfere by force of arms in Naples, to restore the prior despotic government in that country, such an audacious intervention was defended by the yet more audacious plea that 'the sovereigns of the Holy Alliance exercised an incontestable right in taking common measures of security against States which the overthrow of authority by revolt had placed in a hostile attitude towards every legitimate government.' Such a pretension was the most outrageous ever advanced by the tyrants of the earth, and it was offensive even to Castlereagh, who deemed it prudent to dissent from it in a circular addressed by him to the British ambassadors at the European courts. Nevertheless, the three potentates persisted in carrying out their design, and removed the congress to Laybach, whither they summoned to their august presence the recreant king of Naples, to hear from them the fiat of their high arbitrament.

Among these looming portents of a dismal future, a ray of light illumined for a moment the aged trunk of the Bourbon dynasty. On the 29th of September the Duchess de Berry gave birth to a son, who, in accordance with a previous vow of Louis XVIII, received the title of the Duke de Bordeaux, from that city having been the first in 1814 to hoist the white flag. The event was hailed with enthusiastic raptures by all the Royalists, and was viewed with a scowling malignity by the Revolutionists, who scrupled not, in their foul imaginations, to impugn the legitimacy or even the reality of the parturition. Thus was born a second infant to inherit the crown of France, with less dazzling prospects certainly than its predecessor, but encircled with a traditionary halo which seemed to assure it a more certain succession. But no: a throne may be reared in France, but not bequeathed; and a third infant shall yet attest the moral of the tale.

The birth of this young prince not only gave intense satisfaction and increased ardour to the partisans of the dynasty in France, but also diffused gladness through the different courts of Europe. The child was viewed as a guarantee of stability, and as a harbinger of prolonged peace and order. Consequently the demonstrations of joy for this propitious advent were universal and unbounded. Addresses of congratulation were presented to Louis

from every quarter and constituted body of the kingdom, all couched in a fervent strain of loyalty, and breathing love and devotion towards his person and family. Among these, the address presented by the diplomatic body was of a remarkable tenor, indicating the profound feeling evoked by the event. The following expression forms an index of its sense:—‘This child of tender recollections and regrets is also *the child of Europe*; he is the presage and the guarantee of the peace and repose which ought to follow so much agitation.’ Rarely, truly, has any child been ushered into the world environed with such hopes, or invested with so auspicious an importance, as to be the predestined bulwark of tranquillity and amity among nations!

Scarcely had the emotions of gratification subsided in the heart of Louis, than fresh anxieties arose to trouble his dream of joy. The elections under the new law took place in October, and, as might have been foreseen, turned preponderatingly in favour of the Royalists. Nearly all the departmental colleges elected deputies of that ‘colour,’ whilst of the renewable fifth in the colleges of arrondissement the greater number also belonged to the same party. The majority, therefore, in the ensuing Chamber would be decidedly Royalist; and from the experience of 1815, little moderation might be expected from it. The king had a sorrowful presentiment of this untoward result. ‘We shall be overpowered, M. de Richelieu,’ he said to his minister: ‘how will it be possible for you to restrain such a majority?’ Richelieu sought to reassure the monarch by reminding him of the pledge given by the Count d’Artois; but Louis had too acute an intelligence to place much reliance on that fragile assurance, and foreboded too truly that he was virtually deposed.

With infinite discretion Richelieu endeavoured to propitiate the forbearance of the new majority, yet stung with the recollection of former discomfiture, by incorporating into his ministry some of the Royalist leaders. Of these Villele and Corbieres were at once the most influential and the most moderate in their sentiments. Negotiations were accordingly opened with them to induce their acceptance of office. Richelieu proposed to create two new ministries—one of public instruction and religion, another of direct taxation—and these he offered to confer on his desired allies. Villele possessed a sagacity and an appreciation of circumstances very unusual among the men of this era, and particularly of his party. He saw that the ministry could not heartily identify itself with the Royalist majority; and that, for the sake of his personal influence, he ought not to accept any department under it calculated to involve him in its responsibilities. He declined, therefore, to take the ministry offered him, but consented to enter the cabinet without a portfolio, there to act the part rather of a watcher and sentinel than an adviser of

his colleagues. Corbieres, on his part, accepted the ministry of public instruction, for which M. Lainé, by his timely resignation of the existing presidency, prepared the way. Lainé, who was himself a Royalist, having been president of the famous Chamber of 1815, was likewise absorbed into the cabinet, but without having any particular department assigned to him.

These arrangements were completed before the opening of the session, but were not officially notified until after the delivery of the king's speech. In this annual oration, Louis touched with pathetic emphasis on his age and infirmities, which warned him to devote the few days reserved to him in strengthening the foundations of the constitutional monarchy, in which noble enterprise he relied on the loyal and constant support of the Chambers. This was intended, doubtless, as an appeal to the sympathy of the Royalists, whom he thus conjured to spare him the pain of that previous conflict which he so well remembered. But in the nature of things it was impossible but that they should be eager to enjoy the fruits of their victory; and that, however well disposed to act upon the Count d'Artois's pledge, they should grow discontented when they found their own principles not completely paramount at the royal council-board. They were in the position of masters of the government, and yet were asked to follow humbly in its wake. This, certainly, they were not very well content to do, nor could they avoid showing from time to time their impatience of a rule they supported, but only nominally participated. The appointments to offices, which are so numerous in France, and form a never-ending source of jealousy and dissension, were not always agreeable to them, nor could one be made without occasioning angry censures or acrimonious complaints. Not only did they insist that their own partisans should be preferred to all natural vacancies, but that every department should be swept of its present occupants, and be restocked from their ravenous adherents. As for the king, he had no voice in the conferring of places, and was scarcely permitted to nominate the members of his own household, whose various merits were subjected to a severe criticism. The appointment of General Rapp to be keeper of the royal wardrobe, in particular, gave deep umbrage, he having been one of the favourite commanders of Napoleon. Thus the breach grew continually wider between the Royalists and the Richelieu ministry, until, at the close of the session, almost open war was declared, and a decided crisis had become imminent.*

The session itself was got over without any adverse vote, the only measure of importance almost that was discussed being a

* In the years 1819 and 1820 many remarkable men, who had already quitted the stage of the world, finally departed this life. In the former, Blücher, Davout, and Serrurier; in the latter, George III., Volney, Kellermann, Lefebvre, Tallien, Decres, and Fouché.

new municipal law, which M. de Villele had made the condition of his joining the ministry. But on this subject the incompatibility of the two parties was made manifest, and indeed the absurdity of any attempt at a harmonious action between them. It was one of the cherished objects of the Royalists to decentralise authority, such as it had become during the Revolution, and particularly in its last phase of the Empire, and to restore that local character of administration which had prevailed under the old régime. They could scarcely hope to resuscitate the old provinces, but they might establish in each department, arrondissement, and commune, a municipal council composed of the aristocratic class, and altogether independent of the central government. This idea of splitting up the country into an infinity of petty communities, in which the men of birth and wealth would be the depositaries of local authority, was particularly agreeable to the Royalists, since it promised them a perpetuity of domination; but on that very account it was insuperably distasteful to the government of Louis XVIII. The ministerial project, therefore, still retained in the hands of the king the appointment of prefects and mayors; and of all councils, both departmental and communal, the members of the latter were to be taken from lists furnished by the electoral bodies. The extreme-left joined the Royalists in condemning this project; and as there was no chance of carrying it, it was altogether withdrawn. In truth, the personal opinion of Louis XVIII. was, that the form of internal administration was not a matter for regulation by the Chambers, but that it appertained to his prerogative; and he waived the point only from a desire to conciliate the Royalists. This was a difficulty inherent in the existing government, arising from the anomalous pretensions of the crown. If the Charter rested on no better foundation than the will and pleasure of the monarch, he could of course limit the functions of the legislature he created, nor could it legitimately exceed the powers expressly conferred upon it. Hence, if the character of Louis XVIII. had been of a less pliable description, if he had not been sincerely desirous of carrying out the experiment of a constitutional monarchy, there must have been perpetual collisions between the legislative and executive branches of the government on fundamental points of domestic polity.

The financial condition of France was shown during the session to be sufficiently prosperous, and M. Roy was enabled to announce a remission of direct taxes to the extent of 34,500,000 francs (£1,400,000 sterling) for the year 1821. This diminution of taxation, however, strange to say, was made a subject of reproach to the ministry. It was alleged, with an implacability of which there are few examples, that the reduction was solely with the view of lessening the number of voters in the electoral col-

leges, and of so increasing the extent of ministerial influence. The economy itself was blamed as partial and unintelligent, each vapouring censorer taking up the cause of some particular service, and condemning inexorably the retrenchments made in the expenditure allotted to it. Such is the deplorable fate of a weak ministry in the presence of imbittered factions, in whose eyes it can do no good! Its very efforts to disarm resentment, its measures to win public esteem, its endeavours to promote the public good—nothing can avail to rescue it from the shafts of malevolence, nothing can gain for it a candid or just consideration. In this most uncomfortable predicament now stood the Richelieu administration, and no voice of prophecy was needed to foretell the speedy doom of dissolution that awaited it.

The congress of Laybach, to which that of Troppau had been adjourned, assembled in the early part of 1821. The three sovereigns of Russia, Austria, and Prussia again appeared at it in person, and they had likewise invited Louis XVIII. and George IV. to exhibit themselves at this conference of kings—an invitation it was not in the power of either of them to accept, the one from incapacity to move, the other from the disabling maxims of the British constitution. They had representatives present, however—the first in the persons of MM. Blacas, Caraman, and Feronays; the latter in those of Lords Stewart and Clanwilliam. According to outward appearances, the British and French envoys laboured against the manifesto of Troppau, but not very energetically—simply to satisfy public opinion in the two countries. If the British government, for instance, had been sincere in its determination to prevent an armed intervention in Naples, it might have effectually scared Austria from sending an army thither by the presence of a powerful fleet cruising in the Straits of Messina. But beyond a protest and remonstrance, nothing was done or attempted to be done; and an Austrian army of 60,000 men crossed the Po, traversed the papal dominions, routed the Neapolitans, and put an end to their constitution.

Whilst this operation was going on, and whilst the congress was still sitting at Laybach, an insurrection broke out in Piedmont, partly military, as in Spain and Naples, which excited fresh alarms among the crowned heads. The old king, like so many of his predecessors, thought fit to abdicate; and the presumptive heir to the crown, Charles Albert, Prince of Carignan, proclaimed a constitution similar to that of the Cortes in Spain. This occurrence was the more threatening, from the proximity of Piedmont to France, where the revolutionary passions were known to be in such hot fermentation, and from the sympathy existing between the two populations. Orders were immediately forwarded to the army of reserve in Lombardy to enter Piedmont; and as the new king, Charles Felix, was very willing

to undo the constitutional handiwork of his young relative, the Piedmontese were likewise speedily reduced to resume their chains.

This prompt success in extinguishing the dawning liberties of nations, and the impunity attending it, gave great satisfaction to the monarchs, and encouraged them to cast their conservative vision even beyond the Pyrenees, where the sight of Spain and Portugal enjoying constitutions was obnoxious in their eyes. But here distance was an obstacle difficult to be surmounted, and which seemed to preclude the possibility of an armed intervention. They were obliged to content themselves, therefore, with fulminating proclamations of their high displeasure at the proceedings of the Spaniards and Portuguese in seeking to recover the liberties they had won when deserted by their own native princes, and warning them of the punishment which would not fail, sooner or later, to alight upon their guilty heads. Still, they did not despair of executing upon them the same summary vengeance already wreaked upon the presumptuous Italians; and in high good-humour they separated for a time, promising to meet again next year, when they would settle the affairs of the Peninsula, and perchance those also of another interesting country which was struggling to break the bonds of barbarian slavery—the renowned land of Greece.

Thus prospered the cause of absolutism in the year 1821, under the iron auspices of the dull Austrian, the perfidious Prussian, the fickle and morbid Russian. The triumph was in some degree reflected in the profuse magnificence with which the baptism of the infant Duke de Bordeaux was celebrated in France. This first of the sacraments was solemnised under the roof of the ancient cathedral of Nôtre-Dame with all the imposing pomp which the Catholic Church displays in its most sacred rites. The king himself was present, notwithstanding his sufferings from gout, to witness the reception of his Heaven-sent heir into the bosom of the faith, and in the grateful spectacle forgot for a moment the anxieties that oppressed him and the pains that tortured him. He judiciously marked the event by an extensive promotion in the army, which had exhibited such a happy fidelity in the previous June; and he distributed an immense number of ribbons and crosses among men of all classes, much to the scandal of the true Royalist, who held that none could receive such distinctions but the nobly born. Several persons of eminence were called to the peerage; and in this hour of congratulation, Louis remembered his old friends of the first Restoration, the Count de Blacas and the Abbé de Montesquiou—whose counsels, nevertheless, he had little cause to reward—and he conferred upon both of them the lofty title of Duke.

At the moment that France was thus rejoicing over the cradle

of a future king, far away over the desolate waters a bier was outstretched in which lay embalmed her hopes, her glories, and her tears, for in it lay the corpse of the mighty Napoleon. That great spirit had at last yielded to the common doom, and in his lonely prison had yielded up a life which was become burthen-some to him. It is melancholy that this most renowned of mortals should have so perished, a repining and dejected captive, and it is more melancholy that such a fate should have been conducive to the interests of humanity. Yet to the end of time the story of his imprisonment at St Helena will excite the warmest sympathies of mankind, since in the fulness of his reverse will be obliterated the memory of those devastations and oppressions on which he built the edifice of his fame. So also will the unhappy chance which confided him to the generosity of England cover her with an odium, which, although not altogether deserved, will not be the less bitter or withering. She undertook the office of jailer, and although that office may be a necessary one, it is ever regarded with an instinctive loathing. It is a stain upon her name, which, more than any other, will arouse and keep alive against her feelings of vengeance, and which, in the first hour of her adversity, will be held to warrant any extremity of revenge.

More, undoubtedly, than the birth of the Duke de Bordeaux did the death of Napoleon tend to strengthen temporarily the throne of the Bourbons and to dishearten the Revolutionists. The intelligence of the event, coming wafted, as it were, from the end of the world, created an extraordinary sensation in every country of Europe, but especially in France and England. The interest was very natural in the former country, where his name was piously revered by so many millions, but it is not so obvious in the latter. The cause was both deep-seated and accidental. The government, by its excessive tyranny and intolerance, had become detestable in the eyes of the nation, and anything was eagerly seized upon to incriminate it. The recent trial of Queen Caroline before the House of Lords, charged by her royal husband with the infidelity he had himself so openly and variously practised, had deeply stirred the public mind, and given a greater shake to authority than it had received perhaps at any time in the history of England. George IV. conferred at all events this service upon his country—that in seeking to gratify his animosities and his lusts, he struck the first vital stab at ultra-Toryism, at that terrible and corrupt faction which lived upon the manes of Pitt, although having little in common with that great minister, and which could rule only in the mist of ignorance, prejudice, and dark bigotry. The death of Napoleon thus sounded upon a chord ready to vibrate with indignant tones; and the publications which issued from the press detailing the harrowing incidents of his captivity, his wrongs, his humiliations, his afflictions, roused a

tumult of emotion and anger, especially among the young generation rising into manhood, which gathered around the instruments of his persecution, and prepared the storm which was ere long to level them with the dust.

If this event, then, caused so profound an excitement in England, it may be imagined how intense and universal was the feeling awakened in France, how many bitter and indignant tears were shed at the recital of the Emperor's woes and final dissolution! But the effect in a political sense, or on the course of policy to be pursued, was scarcely perceptible. The Royalists had already obtained such a majority as enabled them to command the government, and it depended simply upon their moderation when they would seize the actual reins. Richelieu was sufficiently sensible of this, and he sought to gain a counterpoise, by attracting to him the Doctrinaires, who were too soured by their exclusion from office to listen to him. If he had been better acquainted with parliamentary government, he would have been aware that a ministry must possess a decided character, policy, and party of its own, and that it cannot keep afloat by merely trimming its sails, howsoever nicely, and tacking from side to side as each exigency impels. He thought he might still carry on the government without wholly giving in to the Royalists, and he clung to that delusion until the meeting of the legislature in November, fortified in it, doubtless, by the exhortations of the king, who shuddered at the thought of a pure Royalist ministry. At the same time the mind of Louis was growing less firm, and the Count d'Artois was gradually increasing his influence over him. Negotiations had been pending during the greater part of the vacation with a view to effect a compromise of differences; but the demands of the Royalists were deemed too exorbitant by M. de Richelieu, and in the end he broke them off, resolved to face the Chamber with a confidence which might bespeak his boldness of spirit, but was scarcely indicative of judgment or discretion.

The session was opened with the usual formalities on the 5th of November. The speech from the throne had been studiously worded, to avoid giving occasion for hostile debate; but whilst alluding to the troubled state of the East, arising from the Greek and other insurrections, the king expressed his hope that through the good understanding among the great powers these affairs would be happily settled. According to custom, the task of drawing up an address in answer to the speech was referred to a committee, of which nearly all the members were of the Royalist 'colour.' The complexion of the Chamber indeed was sufficiently indicated by the election of M. Villele to the presidency, he and Corbieres having seceded from the ministry at the close of the last session. This election, however, was not confirmed, and another

Royalist, M. Ravez, was eventually placed in the presidency. The committee on the address was attended by the ministers, and some warm altercations took place between them and the members in the course of the discussions. Pasquier, the foreign minister, had drawn upon himself the chief hatred of the Royalists, and him they determined to smite in a very peculiar manner. In the project of their address, adverting to the good understanding between France and the other powers, they congratulated the king on so auspicious a fact, but added that they did so 'in the just confidence that so precious a concord was not purchased by sacrifices incompatible with the honour of the nation and the dignity of the crown.' Such language was gratuitously insulting, for there was nothing to warrant any supposition of the sort hinted at, unless it were an inuendo against Richelieu on account of his connection with Alexander, which had been of very considerable advantage to France.

When this address was submitted by Delalot the reporter to the Chamber, this scandalous phrase aroused the indignation of both the centres, who condemned it as injurious personally to the king. Most of the moderate Royalists likewise declared against it, or refused to vote for it; nevertheless, upon a division it was carried by a majority of 176 to 98, the extreme-left voting with the ultra-Royalists. This was a blow of the most decisive nature against the ministry, and a cabinet council was immediately held, at which the king attended. He was violently agitated at so audacious an attack, and he exclaimed, 'I will not receive the address—the Chamber must be dissolved!' Richelieu and the other ministers deemed that so extreme a course ought not to be at once adopted; but Louis was resolute in his determination not to receive the address, or even a deputation of the Chamber. He gave an audience, however, to the president, accompanied by two secretaries. He assumed towards them a very stern expression as they approached his presence. Addressing them in a tone of rebuke, he said to them, 'I am acquainted with the address you would present to me. In exile and persecution I maintained my rights, the honour of my race, and that of the French name; on the throne, surrounded by my people, the bare idea is abhorrent to me that I could ever sacrifice the honour of the nation and the dignity of my crown. I am willing to believe that the greater part of those who voted this address have not duly weighed all its expressions. If they had had time to reflect on them, they would not have indulged a supposition which, as a king, I ought not to characterise; as a father, I would wish to forget.'

This firm and dignified demeanour of the king struck these rabid Royalists with some degree of awe. They began to fear he would really dissolve the Chamber, although little could be

gained by that expedient unless the existing law of election were altered. It was evident, however, that unless that alternative were adopted, a ministry more in accordance with the Royalist majority must of necessity be appointed. Such a combination was quite easy and natural, and the only obstacle lay in the king's repugnance; for, as he himself said, such a ministry would be not his, but his brother's. However, every species of influence was brought to bear upon him to overcome this repugnance, not excepting even that of female charms, to which he was peculiarly sensible, and to which enchantment Decazes had first owed his favour; and the old monarch, whom age and sufferings had greatly shaken, at length yielded. The millennium of the Royalists was come, and the whole destinies of France were in their hands. What a jubilee!—what a gratification of postponed hatreds!—how brilliant an aurora of reaction!

It was one of the virtues of Louis XVIII. that he never parted from his ministers without bestowing on them marks of his gratitude for their services. On this occasion, despite all clamours to the contrary, he elevated MM. Simeon, Portal, Roy, and Pasquier to the peerage, nominated De Serres a minister of State, and appointed Latour-Maubourg to be governor of the Hôtel des Invalides. Richelieu, whose intellect was decidedly weakened by long illness, consented, with an unaccountable facility, to allow his name to remain as nominal president of the council in the new ministry, of which Villele, the very man he had caused the king to reject as president of the Chamber, was the soul and spirit. Corbieres was selected for minister of the interior; the Viscount de Montmorency as minister of foreign affairs; Marshal Victor, Duke of Belluno, minister of war; the Marquis de Clermont-Tonnerre minister of marine. Villele contented himself with the post of minister of finance. M. de Peyronnet was assigned the important office of keeper of the seals. Thus was formed the first true Royalist ministry of the Restoration, to which its acts were of such fatal import.

The further restriction of the press was the first measure introduced by Peyronnet on behalf of the new administration. It was partly the work of the late ministry, and had been drawn up by M. de Serres. The only peculiar feature of the project consisted in the abolition of the censorship, against which the Royalists had, for obvious reasons, hitherto declaimed, and the attribution to the royal courts of the power of suspending or suppressing journals which should publish articles injurious to religion, the royal authority, order, existing institutions, &c. The committee to which it was referred chose for its reporter M. de Martignac, who sat for the first time in the Chamber, and was afterwards to make so great a figure in it. In his report he enunciated with regard to the press the following rather singular proposition:—He said

that 'newspapers were speculations having for an object gain, and in this point of view they were in opposition to the general interest, since the public welfare depended on tranquillity and the cessation of passions, whereas the interest of newspapers lay in agitation and in a permanent state of disquietude.' On this account he held it was proper they should be subjected to the supervision of the courts, for the sake of religion, the monarchy, and true liberty itself. The Liberals of course opposed the measure, and repeated with more than usual energy the standard arguments in favour of the liberty of the press; but they made no impression on the majority, and the law was passed. In the Chamber of Peers an inconsiderable amendment was carried against the ministry; but although not of importance, it marked the adverse feeling of the majority, and imposed upon M. Villele the necessity of again swamping that noble body, after the example of his predecessor, the Duke de Decazes.

Another law, wholly the offspring of M. de Peyronnet, was framed touching what was called the police of the press. By this very notable project every proprietor and publisher of a journal reflecting in his public capacity on any member of the two Chambers, or any public functionary, any jurymen or witness, was subjected to fine and imprisonment, to be adjudicated by the courts of correctional police, or on appeal by the judges of the royal courts. For any infidelity in the report of parliamentary or judicial proceedings, fines ranging from 1000 to 6000 francs were imposed, and power was reserved to any member of the Chambers to call editors and others to the bar, and have them condemned in the penalties affixed to their offences. Under such a law, it was clear that not a vestige of freedom could exist, and the numerous prosecutions which took place under it at once attested the arbitrary tendency of the cabinet and the determination of individuals to defy it. Thus many eminent writers underwent the pains of imprisonment and the degradation of penal punishment, among whom the illustrious Béranger, and the celebrated Paul Louis Courier, the most accomplished pamphleteer of his day, figured in the first rank. In a country boasting intellectual advancement, these fetters on the expression of thought and on the liberty of discussion are felt to be intolerably odious; and although in France, unhappily, they have often seemed to be very necessary, they have always failed in the intended object, and roused a deeper exasperation against the government than could well have resulted from a boundless latitude to the fiercest vituperation.

The session was hurried to a close by the end of April 1822, and the ministry gave its undivided attention to the ramifications of one of the most extensive conspiracies yet discovered for the subversion of the royal authority. The Secret Societies of Germany and

Italy had occasioned intense alarm among all the potentates, great and small, of those countries, but it was not supposed that they had extended in an equal degree to France. Towards the end of 1821, however, the police got scent of an organisation of the most artistic description, embracing manifold classes of the community. A central junta regulated the whole association, radiating through the different circles, and obeying this hidden direction with a blind submission. The secondary juntas had no correspondence with each other, nor any cognisance of their several meetings or composition. Everything was under the supreme control of the central body. Members were enrolled with the greatest care, and after minute inquiries, so as to avoid, if possible, the admission of spies. Signs and symbols were established by which the Carbonari might recognise each other, and no assemblage occurred without a considerable number of them being present to take advantage of any opportunity of disturbance that might arise. This was particularly the case at reviews in the garden of the Tuileries, where a sudden chance might occur to invade the palace and carry off the royal family, which was one of the chief objects aimed at. How far these societies, which seem to have prevailed on a larger or minor scale in almost every town of France, might have ultimately grown formidable, or been enabled to carry out their revolutionary designs, is perhaps doubtful; but the impatience of some of the hotter spirits engaged in them caused their premature disclosure and failure. Numerous subalterns and privates of the army were initiated, and it was amongst them the first manifestations were made. At Saumur, Befort, and La Rochelle, outbreaks took place, which were quickly suppressed and punished with the last severity. General Berton, an officer who had distinguished himself in the war of Spain, openly hoisted the tri-coloured flag at Thouars, and, accompanied by a body of retired officers and soldiers, marched on Saumur. This rash enterprise met with its inevitable fate, and only entailed destruction on its leader and his chief accomplices. At Toulon and Marseilles distinct traces of the conspiracy were discovered, and at the latter place a Captain Vallée was executed for a guilty participation in it. At Lyons much blood was shed in suppressing popular tumults, which continued for several days, but which do not appear to have been in connection with the plots of the Carbonari.

There can be no doubt that these Secret Societies had other more exalted directors than appeared patent to the researches of the police. In the various outbreaks, the insurgents had proclaimed the formation at Paris of a provisional government, consisting of Lafayette, Constant, Laffitte, and others of the extreme-left. In all plots against a government there are generally men of superior station, who are aware of what is going on, and are

prepared to come forward when a successful move has been made by the subordinate conspirators; but they take care at the same time to avoid an actual identification, or to supply proofs which may legally criminate them. Such, perhaps, was the position of these party-leaders in the present instance, although the Villele ministry has been deeply censured for not prosecuting them as real conspirators, and limiting the vengeance of the law to obscure offenders when they were the more guilty delinquents. But this course might have been a dangerous one, even could the actual culpability of the parties have been established; for nothing so fomented a violent faction as a martyr of some distinguished name. As it was, these pseudo-traitors stood up bravely in defence of all who were apprehended: they first denied their alleged purpose; then they maintained that under such a government any purpose was justifiable; so bantering and irritating the ministry, already too prone, from its fears, to be cruel, that a truly merciless spirit was shown towards the unfortunate victims of passion and credulity taken in overt acts of rebellion.*

The revelation and frustration of these dangerous plots tended, as is usually the case, to strengthen the hands of the ministry; and in the annual elections of 1822, which took place earlier than ordinarily, the Royalists again succeeded in securing a large majority of the returns. In Paris, however, they received a severe check, which served in some measure to console the Liberals, and reanimate their flagging spirits. Of twelve candidates to be elected in the metropolitan department, they carried only two—an important defeat, bearing with it great moral weight, and which mortified the ministry as much as it exalted its opponents. A second short session was held in June, for passing certain financial measures, and granting supplemental credits, which the aspect of foreign affairs rendered expedient, and which the ministry obtained after some sharp fighting with the opposition.

The two questions which agitated the courts of Europe at this period were the Spanish revolution and the Greek insurrection. The latter had very nearly occasioned a European war. The horrible atrocities of the Turks, not only in the revolted provinces, but also in Constantinople itself, where they hanged the Greek patriarch at the door of his own church on Easter-Sunday, stirred up a flame of exasperation among the Russians such as it was almost impossible for the czar to resist. There is no despotism so complete but that it must yield to national influences; and Alexander was too well acquainted with the domestic history of his country not to know the fate of those who attempted to run counter to them. But at the same time he was aware with how

* The trial and execution of the four sergeants of Rochelle, for complicity in this affair of the Secret Societies, attracted the greatest interest, and the memory of the sufferers is still cherished by the Revolutionists of France.

evil, an eye any intervention of his would be regarded by the other powers of Europe, and especially by his first brother of the Holy Alliance, the emperor of Austria; and he was thus placed between two difficulties which sorely perplexed him. The designs of Russia against Turkey had always given rise to the worst suspicions; and indeed Catharine had not attempted to conceal her intention of conquering Constantinople, and of seating on its throne her second grandson, whom she christened Constantine in anticipation. The only plea that Alexander could advance at the present moment for interfering with Turkey was the fact, that a Turkish army had entered Moldavia and Wallachia, and expelled from them the rebellious Hospodars. Yet the right of the Porte to take this step was undoubted, since those provinces still belonged to its dominion, and the Hospodars were its vassals, who had revolted from its authority. Besides, the cause of insurrection was precisely that which the Russian emperor had most strenuously anathematised; and however his ambitious and religious sympathies might prompt him, he could not lend assistance to the rebels without violating his honour and his consistency.

Sufficient confidence, perhaps, might have been placed in the personal character of Alexander; but in truth he was not master of himself, and could not restrain the impulse of his own army and his own court. Metternich had foreseen the danger that might arise from this entanglement, and had taken advantage of Castlereagh being in Hanover with George IV. to hold a conference with him on the subject. The result of their deliberations was a joint mediation between the Porte and Russia, and in which overtures were made to induce the co-operation of France. But it may be said that as yet France had no foreign policy, and certainly none that would be directly inimical to Alexander, as the Richelieu tradition still hung upon the mind and the ministry of Louis XVIII. From the perverse and ignorant obstinacy of the Ottoman Porte, which, it is true, likewise stood in awe of the fanaticism of its own population, the mediation of Austria and England threatened for some time to prove utterly abortive; but at length, chiefly through the singular tact and ability of Lord Strangford, the British envoy, the Divan was brought to yield, and to consent to the evacuation of the Danubian provinces, and the reinstatement of the Hospodars, which removed any pretext for hostilities on the part of Russia, since it was impossible for her openly to assist the insurrection in Albania and the Morea.

Thus the Eastern question was for a time adjusted. But that of Spain presented difficulties of a more insuperable character. There is no doubt the situation of the Peninsula was threatening to the tranquillity of Europe. The extreme party of the *exaltados* had gained the superiority in the Cortes, and were assuredly carrying things in a very revolutionary style. Moreover, a civil

war was raging in several provinces of the country; whilst, on the other hand, refugees of all descriptions were flocking to Spain, with the view of fomenting revolutionary movements in France. Thus it was, as the French government alleged, that the system of the Carbonari had been introduced into France, which was found most extensively organised in the south and west. Advantage had been taken of the outbreak of yellow fever in Barcelona, to establish a strong sanitary cordon at the foot of the Pyrenees, which it was easy by degrees to swell to a military cordon; and thus in the course of 1822 a large body of troops of all arms was assembled around Toulouse. This naturally gave rise to rumours of a projected invasion of Spain, which the French government, however, repeatedly and officially disclaimed. Nevertheless, it is certain that such a design was entertained, not absolutely by the whole cabinet—for M. Villele was by no means decidedly favourable to it—but by the court and that more ultra portion of the Royalist party represented by M. de Montmorency, who held in such a conjuncture the all-important post of minister of foreign affairs.

At the dissolution of the congress of Laybach in the previous year, it had been agreed that another should be held in the following, both upon the affairs of Italy and upon this very question of Spain. Now that the Eastern question had been temporarily disposed of, and harmony again restored among the members of the Holy Alliance, Metternich, in particular, urged the convocation of this congress, which he wished to be held at Vienna; but to this Alexander objected, and Verona was ultimately fixed upon. Towards that very ancient and famous city, accordingly, the scene of Napoleon's most marvellous exploits, and of one of Shakspeare's exquisite masterpieces, the whole diplomatic world migrated in the autumn of 1822. The assemblage was numerous and brilliant almost beyond example, and it is interesting as the last meeting of the Holy Alliance, and also as the last general congress held in Europe consequent upon the events of 1815. The two Emperors of Russia and Austria, the King and Crown-Prince of Prussia, the Kings of Naples and Sardinia, the Grand Duke of Tuscany, the Archduchess of Parma, Maria-Louisa, widow of Napoleon, and the Prince-Royal of Sweden, Oscar, son of Bernadotte, were the royal persons present. The official members of the congress were, on the part of Russia, Nesselrode, Borgo, Tatitschef, Strogonoff; on the part of Austria, Metternich, Liebzelter, Lützow; on that of Prussia, Hardenberg, Bernstorff, Hatzfeld; on that of France, Montmorency, Chateaubriand, Rayneval, and Caraman; finally, on that of England, the Duke of Wellington. The conferences were formally opened on the 22d of October.

It had been intended that Lord Castlereagh, become, by the death of his father, Marquis of Londonderry, should have accom-

panied Wellington as a representative of England at Verona. But a very dreadful catastrophe had prevented him from so doing; which was no other than his self-destruction at a secluded place called North Cray in the county of Kent. Whether the untoward aspect of domestic affairs, and the general detestation with which his public conduct was regarded, had affected his mind, or that insanity had proceeded from mere natural causes, will never perhaps be surely known; certain it is, that in a fit of mental derangement he severed the carotid artery, and killed himself. Mr Canning succeeded him as foreign secretary, and henceforth a very different policy began to mark the counsels of England with regard to other nations.

To Metternich the forcible repression of popular liberties was at all times agreeable, and it was therefore with equal surprise and pleasure he received an overture from Montmorency to permit an armed intervention by France in the affairs of Spain. The French minister was a mere novice in the wiles of diplomacy, and fell an easy prey into the meshes of the veteran snarer. Chateaubriand was equally incompetent to cope with the practised intellects opposed to him; in his short embassy to England his ideas had become somewhat unsettled, and he was almost impregnated with the heresy of Liberalism. Of frank and impetuous temperament, his imagination was easily kindled, especially in what might seem to him a high and noble cause, and his opinions had by no means that rooted firmness which fitted him to play the part of a practical politician. His hatred of oppression was at least equal to his love of legitimacy, and he appeared at Verona rather as a moderator than a colleague of his principal, Montmorency. He was deputed by Villele to keep this latter, if possible, in check, and prevent him from contracting positive and onerous obligations on behalf of France. But although Villele was the chief personage of the cabinet, both from his superior ability and the influence he had acquired with the king, he was only the finance minister, and not the ostensible head of the government. The Duke de Richelieu had died in the month of May, having continued to hold, or rather having never been formally divested of, the title of president of the council, and the office had in the interim remained in abeyance. The inconvenience of having no responsible chief of the government was now sensibly felt, and somewhat too late the king had been induced to nominate Villele as president of the council. But Montmorency had already committed himself, and if it had ever been the intention of Villele to abstain from interference in Spain, it was now too late, and he must needs abide by the engagements of the French plenipotentiary.

The sole obstacle to an immediate settlement of the whole question was the refusal of Wellington to concur in the inter-

vention on behalf of England. The British cabinet was not prepared to oppose such an intervention if made by France, although it emphatically condemned a proposal to land an Austro-Russian force on the eastern coast of Spain. Finding the British negotiator immovable in his position, the four continental powers signed, on the 30th of November, a protocol by which it was agreed that a separate note should be presented by each to the court of Spain, setting forth its abhorrence of the violences committed by the present revolutionary government, and the unjust thralldom imposed upon the monarch; and intimating that, although no desire existed of improperly interfering in the domestic concerns of Spain, it was impossible for the powers of Europe to look with indifference on the civil war raging in that country, or to avoid insisting that the government should be placed in harmony with that of other well-regulated States. The cabinet of Spain was therefore invited to amend its manners, to restore full freedom to the king, to rely upon his paternal love and wisdom for suitable institutions—in short, quietly to give up its existence, and replace despotic authority in the hands of Ferdinand. If any hesitation were felt in adopting this imperative course, then all diplomatic intercourse must cease, and it would be matter of consideration whether such further steps should not be taken, especially by France, who was more directly exposed to danger, as the pressing exigency might demand. This was simply intimating, in as civil terms as might well be used, that if the Cortes did not advisedly dissolve themselves, a French army would be marched across the Pyrenees to strangle them.

Such was the extraordinary determination of these powers, veritably extraordinary on the part of France, which had always protested against the principle of intervention; and it was the only one of importance arrived at by the congress. The Eastern question had been discussed, and put in a favourable train for a definitive settlement. Italy was in a sufficiently satisfactory state—that is to say, she again slumbered in the lap of despotism, and an early term might be safely fixed for the gradual withdrawal of the Austrian troops from Piedmont and Naples. The applications of the Greeks for succour were refused, as it was contrary to the sacred principles of the Holy Alliance to abet insurrections; and they were quaintly recommended to appeal to the justice and mercy of the Sublime Porte to reinstate them in their old privileges. Matters being thus arranged, the congress broke up on the 12th of December, and Alexander bade his allies of Austria and Prussia farewell—a tender farewell, which he truly foreboded would be eternal.

An invasion of Spain by a French army was an affair of infinite perplexity and danger, which the narrow apprehension of M. de Montmorency had totally overlooked. A similar undertaking

had been one of the proximate causes of Napoleon's ruin, although, it is true, circumstances were much changed, and the bulk of the population, instead of being hostile, would now be friendly, since it is certain that the cause of the Cortes was not generally popular in a nation so completely under the influence of priests, and so utterly unfit to appreciate the benefits of a constitutional liberty. If any serious disaster befell the French arms, it would assuredly imperil the dynasty of the Bourbons, and from this consideration, the powers at Verona had undertaken to furnish succours to France in case of need—that is, in order to extinguish freedom in the Peninsula, a French army was to override Spain; whilst to keep France herself quiet, a Russo-German horde was to threaten, and perhaps invade, her own soil. Nothing could be more imprudent or hazardous than such an enterprise, and the British government had the merit of vehemently protesting against the latter part of the combination, which was so likely to provoke a fresh outbreak of revolutionary patriotism.

M. de Villele was fully sensible of all the difficulties surrounding the question, and he had several interviews with the Duke of Wellington as he passed through Paris on his return from Verona. The duke professed himself unable to discover what grounds of warfare France possessed against Spain, and Villele was somewhat puzzled to assign them, save that a revolutionary government in Spain was fraught with constant danger to France. That might be, but was it a ground of invasion? However, knowing the peculiar position of the French ministry, which was not its own master, but obliged to act according to the Royalist impulse, Wellington offered the mediation of England to avert, if possible, the misfortune of a war, and this offer Villele accepted. It was agreed that the British ambassador at Madrid, A'Court, should co-operate with the French ambassador, Lagarde, to induce the existing government to make such modifications in the constitution as might satisfy the apprehensions of France. Such a mediation was entirely hopeless, but still its acceptance entailed the necessity of departing from the stipulations of Verona, at least so far as concerned the terms of the note to be addressed by France to Spain. The three other powers had already presented their notes, all couched in the dictatorial language agreed upon, and they had, moreover, recalled their ambassadors from Madrid. They were now importunate with the French government that it should adopt a similar course, according to its engagement, and M. de Montmorency likewise insisted that a note he had drawn up in the recognised spirit should be forthwith despatched to the court of Spain. In this demand he was backed by a majority of the cabinet, and Villele had no alternative but to appeal to the king, whom it was not difficult to convince that war ought to be avoided, if possible; and in concert with him he framed another

note of more moderate tendency, which he propounded at the council-board in opposition to Montmorency's. The king declared in favour of it, and Montmorency of course immediately resigned, as had been foreseen and expected, and M. de Chateaubriand was forthwith nominated minister of foreign affairs in his stead.

This abrupt dismissal of Montmorency, although replaced by so undoubted a legitimatist as Chateaubriand, occasioned a feeling of equal surprise and irritation among the Royalists. They had already decided that an invasion of Spain should take place, and they would listen to no reasons or arguments against it. The whole court and party was in a flutter of hopeful excitement, which permitted no entrance to cold or dispassionate considerations. The Duke d'Angouleme, who was to command the expedition, would cover himself with glory; the army, truly faithful to the Bourbons, burned with ardour to draw the sword under its new colours; the hydra of revolution would be crushed for ever, and the cause of monarchy assured on a triumphant basis. Such were the confident assumptions of the Royalists, and whoever doubted them was a traitor to the cause. They were encouraged in this impassioned excitement by the presence and assurances of sundry refugees from Spain, who indulged in more than the usual exaggerations of exiles, and fanned the flame until it amounted to a perfect frenzy. It was impossible for Villele to resist the torrent; he felt constrained to cease the negotiations at Madrid, although the British legation still laboured to impress with some degree of sense the inflated and impracticable men who formed the government, and to put into the mouth of the king, at the opening of the legislative session, expressions which seemed to ignore all hope of a pacific adjustment.

This very memorable session was opened on the 29th January 1823. Louis spoke after the fastian manner which is in accordance with French taste. He said, 'I have spared no endeavour to guarantee the security of my people, and to save Spain itself from the last misfortunes. The blindness with which the representations made at Madrid have been repudiated leaves little hope of preserving peace. I have ordered the recall of my minister: one hundred thousand Frenchmen, commanded by a prince of my family, by him whom my heart delights to call my son, are ready to march, invoking the God of St Louis, to preserve the throne of Spain to a descendant of Henry IV., to rescue that fine kingdom from ruin, and to reconcile it with Europe. If war be inevitable, I will use all exertions to contract its scope, and to shorten its duration. It will be undertaken only to conquer peace, which the state of Spain renders impossible. Let Ferdinand VII. be free to grant his people the institutions they can hold only from him, and which, by insuring their tranquillity,

will relieve the just disquietude of France, and from that moment hostilities will cease. I take before you, gentlemen, this solemn engagement. I have consulted the dignity of my crown, the honour and the safety of France. We are Frenchmen, and we shall always agree in defending such interests.' This language was warmly applauded by the majority, and Louis was greeted with enthusiastic acclamations.

The old system of contracting loans and fathering extraordinary expenses on posterity, which had been obsolete in France from the time of Necker to that of Richelieu, was now adopted upon every emergency by the French government. When in opposition, Villele had denounced the practice; but as minister, he found it too convenient a resource to forego it. England had already carried the system to an excess at which Pitt himself might have been appalled; and as at this era she was considered the pattern and model for all other governments, French financiers thought they could not do better than closely follow her example. Nevertheless, they had to borrow at an exorbitant interest; less, certainly, than Baring and Hope had exacted in 1819, but still at a rate of nearly 7 per cent. There were upwards of 40,000,000 of surplus in the Exchequer arising upon the budgets of the two previous years, which ought to have been applied in a proportionate abatement of taxation, and 60,000,000 more, it was calculated, would defray the expenses of the war, which it was proposed to raise by the sale of *rentes* to the extent of 4,000,000. Thus France was content to squander 100,000,000 (£4,000,000 sterling) for the purpose of crushing liberty in Spain, and to saddle upon herself, for all future ages, a permanent annual charge of 4,000,000 (£160,000 sterling).

The speech of Louis XVIII. provoked a lively censure from the British government. The negotiations at Madrid had never for a moment promised to have any chance of success. The instructions of M. Lagarde were to the effect that France would be content if the Spanish constitution were pared down to the proportions of the French Charter; but it was obviously impossible for the ministers of Spain to entertain such a proposition. They naturally denied the right of any power to dictate what should be the form of their national institutions; and after the insulting language of Russia, Prussia, and Austria, they were more than ever disposed to resent foreign interference. The persuasions of the British legation to exhibit at least a spirit of conciliation were therefore wholly lost upon them, and these were intermitted altogether after the publication of Louis XVIII.'s speech. Upon two important points the British government objected to the terms of this document. The allusion to the king of Spain as a descendant of Henry IV. seemed to imply the still existing force of the old 'family compact,' which had been expressly abjured by France in

the treaties of 1814. Again, the necessity stated of the Spanish people enjoying only such franchises as might be conferred upon them by the king, was a doctrine inapplicable to Spain, and one that destroyed any hope of an accommodation. Against these pretensions, therefore, the British government protested, and with that protest vanished the last lingering chance of averting a war.

A very strong feeling prevailed in England against the conduct of France on this occasion, and from old associations the warmest sympathy was entertained towards the people of Spain. It is true that the people of Spain were wholly undeserving of such sympathy on the part of Great Britain, since nothing could exceed the disgraceful ingratitude with which the services of the latter in the war of independence had been treated; nevertheless, the government would have been supported by the national voice if it had assumed a hostile attitude on the question. Ministers, indeed, were roundly upbraided with pusillanimity in both Houses of Parliament, and Lord Liverpool rested their defence on a singularly happy conceit. Adverting to the ineffective efforts of Napoleon to subdue Spain, he said that if the population were adverse to the French, the latter would draw upon themselves an inevitable doom; but if, on the contrary, the population were favourable, it would be madness in England to interfere. Mr Canning showed successfully that the interests of England counselled a strict neutrality; and that though it was impossible to wish success to France in her unholy crusade, it would be the height of impolicy to incur the risk of a war by attempting openly to thwart her.

In France itself the enterprise was regarded with very opposite sentiments. By the Liberals it was condemned with immeasurable vituperation; by the Royalists it was extolled as a masterpiece of policy, not so much as a movement against revolution, as a proof that France had indeed resumed her station among nations, and that under the rule of the Bourbons she had recovered the might of which she had been shorn. In this point of view it was decidedly a favourable indication for the Restoration, and one eminently calculated to gratify a people so fond of military display and aggression as the French. But it occasioned most vehement debates in the Chamber of Deputies, and gave rise to a scene more deplorable and scandalous than any that had occurred since the famous 31st of May and 2d of June. Among the most conspicuous members of the extreme-left stood Manuel, a powerful orator, and a redoubtable antagonist of the Royalists. None spoke against them with more daring boldness, or defied them with a more incessant and unsparing hostility. He was a son of the south, and joined to all the ardent temperament of his clime a firm and unconquerable spirit, that would bend to no parley, nor stoop to any deprecation. He delivered a passionate

harangue against the invasion of Spain, which aroused against him from time to time furious outbursts of dissent and wrath. At length he wound up with a climax that fired his opponents with a delirium of frenzy. 'If you would not endanger the life of King Ferdinand,' the orator said, 'beware of reproducing events which carried to the scaffold those who excite in you so keen an interest. It was because foreigners interfered in the French Revolution that Louis XVI. was crushed in the dust. It was when the misfortunes of the royal family in France attracted the attention of foreigners, that revolutionary France, feeling that it must defend itself by new forces, by a new energy'— He was not allowed to proceed. The members of the right and centre-right sprang with one accord to their feet, and with impassioned gestures vociferated cries of *Order! Turn him out! To the door with him!* Amidst the hubbub, the voice of Hyde de Neuville was heard. 'This outrage must be avenged,' he cried; 'the phrase is of too horrible a clearness.' 'Yes,' responded Forbin des Issarts, 'it is a provocation of death to Ferdinand.' Other shouts of execration resounded, and the whole Chamber was in a state of indescribable confusion. Ravez, the president, put on his hat, but it had no effect in silencing the clamour. Meanwhile Manuel stood in the tribune regarding his enraged enemies with a smile, as if he enjoyed their agitation. This attitude only tended more to inflame their anger. 'The indecency of his deportment,' shouted a member, 'adds to the atrocity of his words.' After this scene of violence and uproar had continued for some time, the Chamber resolved itself into its bureaux or committees, by which a commission was named to draw up a report on the crime of M. Manuel.

This report was presented on the following day, and it recommended the expulsion of Manuel for the words he had uttered in the previous sitting. Labourdonnaye, an ultra-Royalist of the extremest colour, accordingly moved his immediate expulsion from the Chamber. He was allowed to speak in his defence, but said nothing calculated in the slightest degree to conciliate his opponents. Several of the opposition—St Aulaire, Girardin, Royer-Collard—denied the power of the Chamber to expel any of its members; and Manuel himself declared that, having been sent into that assembly by the voice of the people, he recognised no right in others to exclude him from it. The majority, however, was impervious to all considerations of propriety or reason; and by a preponderating vote Manuel was expelled from the Chamber of Deputies for the remainder of the session.

On the following day Manuel entered the hall and took his seat as usual on the benches of the left. Violent murmurs burst from the Royalists when they beheld his presence. The president civilly invited him to retire. 'I have promised,' he replied,

‘to yield only to violence, and I will keep my word.’ Ravez called upon the ushers to remove him, but the members of the left gathering around him, prevented them from approaching. The Royalists hesitated whether they would join battle, and tear him by force from his friends; but the president ordered a file of the National Guard on duty to be called in, and several soldiers of that civic force entered, with M. Mercier at their head. All the members of the left were on their feet around Manuel, and Lafayette stepped forward to address the National Guards. He exhorted them not to dishonour themselves by seizing a representative of the people in the very midst of the National Assembly. M. Mercier was a tradesman, and not perhaps over-intelligent. He stood confused; and Lafayette, pushing his advantage, plied him with those appeals that are stereotyped in the democratic vocabulary. M. Mercier refused to execute the order of the president, and the members of the left raised a shout of acclamation, which was reverberated in thundering echoes from an eager and expectant multitude outside.

The rage of the Royalists at being thus baffled was beyond all description. They roared, they shouted, they stamped, they imprecated, they upbraided their president with want of firmness. Ravez, however, was determined that the vote of the Chamber should be enforced, and he sent for a detachment of gendarmes. Thirty of that body entered the hall accordingly, with an officer named Foucauld at their head. At their appearance the left uttered a cry of horror. ‘What!’ they exclaimed, ‘gendarmes, in the Chamber! The sanctuary of the laws is invaded!’ The scene that ensued was very similar to the celebrated seizure of D’Epr mesnil in the old parliament of Paris. Foucauld summoned Manuel to withdraw, threatening to use force if necessary, as he would do his duty. ‘Use force, then,’ Manuel replied with composure. ‘Very well!’ said Foucauld hotly; ‘gendarmes, seize this person.’ Four soldiers and a brigadier ascended to the bench on which Manuel stood, grasped him by the arms, and dragged him to the floor. He was then marched out of the hall in the midst of the detachment, followed by the whole left side of the Chamber. He was conducted to his house in a triumphal procession, surrounded by an immense multitude, rending the air with stentorian cries.

Such was the famous expulsion of Manuel from the Chamber of Deputies on the 4th of March 1823. It was one of the most disgraceful and unwarrantable acts undoubtedly ever committed by a tyrannical majority. It is an evidence of the extraordinary force of passions actuating extreme factions, and leading them, in their blindness, to commit the grossest acts of folly and wickedness. These Royalists, these men of the throne and the altar, showed themselves equally unscrupulous and violent with the old

Jacobins ; and they had the less excuse, as the time was one of comparative quiet, and they were all men of good property and of mature age, since no deputy could be elected until he had completed his fortieth year. Yet no beardless youths could have conducted themselves with a more shameful want of decency and common sense than did these gray-haired legislators, this veritable body of 'ancients,' lacking all the attributes of gravity and reverence. Sixty-three deputies lodged a protest against the act of expulsion, very powerfully worded ; and which, being circulated throughout France, created a vast sensation, and might in more troublous days have stimulated a dangerous movement.

But the attention of all parties was speedily attracted to the yet more engrossing topic of the enterprise itself which had given rise to this unseemly scandal. All was bustle, excitement, and ardour among the military. The names of the imperial marshals again blazoned in ordinances and orders of the day. Victor was minister of war, and accompanied the Duke d'Angouleme to Bayonne as major-general of the army—Count Digeon replacing him *ad interim* in the ministry. Moncey, Duke de Conegliano, commanded the fourth army corps ; and Oudinot, Duke of Reggio, commanded the third army corps, which was also the reserve. D'Angouleme himself took the direction of the first corps, having General Guilleminot as chief of the staff to aid him by his counsels. The second corps was intrusted to the charge of General Molitor, and comprised two divisions under Generals Canuel and Conchy. The whole army amounted to nearly 100,000 men, and was animated with all that zeal and fervour with which soldiers are wont to hail the prospect of fighting and plundering.

The Duke d'Angouleme arrived at the head-quarters of Bayonne on the 30th of March, and immediately published a proclamation to the army, very faint and tame in comparison with those by which Napoleon stirred the hearts of his warriors. A first difficulty was encountered, which threatened to mar the whole enterprise. It was discovered that neither the means of transport nor the commissariat supplies were in sufficient abundance, and the army, in consequence, was unable to stir. Whether the blame of this extraordinary neglect rested principally or wholly with the Duke of Belluno, or whether it was attributable to the commissary-general, Andréossy, was a subject of warm contention, which in the end drew upon Victor the displeasure of the commander-in-chief, and he returned to Paris. In this emergency M. Ouvrard, celebrated for his vast financial projects with reference to Spain,* opportunely stepped forth, and offered to furnish forthwith the requisite supplies. This offer was doubtless a grateful and consolatory one ; but M. Ouvrard demanded exorbitant terms for his

* Vide Vol. II. p. 196.

seasonable aid, with which it was deemed incumbent to comply. He was appointed purveyor-general to the army, and contracts were made with him of the most onerous description, which insured him enormous profits. It is perhaps unquestionable that Villele was by no means ignorant of this abominable transaction; and though he might not share himself in Ouvrard's gains, he allowed some of his partisans to do so. Certain it is, that he laboured subsequently to stifle all inquiry into the affair, and sought to cover it with a ministerial protection. However, as if by enchantment, the supplies which had been previously wanting were now instantly forthcoming, and the army was at once prepared to enter upon the campaign.

On the morning of the 6th of April, after a solemn mass had been celebrated along the whole line, the army broke ground, and the vanguard, under General Valin, crossed the Bidassoa—the stream that flows from the Pyrenees, and divides France from Spain. Beyond the river was posted a band of about 400 men, principally Carbonari refugees, dressed in the uniforms of the imperial army, and displaying the well-known tri-coloured flags. It was hoped that the French soldiers would not fire on that revered symbol; and that, in truth, they would at once fraternise with these vagabond deserters. Valin sent forward a flying-battery against them, which, after a few volleys, dispersed and put them to flight, and nothing more was seen of the tri-coloured flag during the rest of the campaign. Beyond this momentary obstacle no opposition was offered to the French advance; and on the same evening head-quarters were established at Irun, a league beyond Fontarabia.

At the same time Marshal Moncey penetrated by the Eastern Pyrenees into Catalonia, and speedily made himself master of the strong fortress of Rosas. He then laid siege to Barcelona, and pushed on with the bulk of his corps towards Saragossa. After leaving a sufficient force to beleaguer San Sebastian, D'Angouleme likewise advanced with rapidity, meeting no opposition save a sortie by the garrison of Logrono, which was promptly repelled, and 200 Spaniards, with their commander, taken prisoners. On the 26th Oudinot established himself at Burgos, and Molitor at Saragossa, where he halted to connect his operations with Moncey. Against this latter General Mina fought with bravery and capacity; but the other Spanish commanders, with the exception of the ill-fated Riego, exhibited neither courage nor conduct. It is true their forces were wholly inadequate to resist the French, for the government had made scarcely any preparations to withstand the invasion that had been so long threatened; but they might have stopped the celerity of their progress, and maintained at least a war of posts, for to an invading army delay is always fraught with danger. They retired as the French came on, and

consequently the latter had little more to do than to march forward, which they did with all the circumspection advisable in a foreign country—for it could scarcely be called hostile, since the population in general showed itself friendly or indifferent. Their army moved by two routes on Madrid: one division by Valladolid and Segovia; the other by Tudela, Paredes, and Guadaluara. On the 23d of May Oudinot's vanguard entered that metropolis, and on the 25th the prince commander-in-chief made his public entry into the city. He issued a proclamation to the Spanish people, in which he gave them assurances of his benevolent designs towards them; and he forthwith established a provisional government consisting of five persons, at the head of whom was the Duke del Infantado.

The Cortes and the king had retired to Seville, whither the French prepared without delay to follow them. Some partial efforts were made to arrest their further advance, but in the end, the three principal Spanish generals, Ballesteros, O'Donnell, and Morillo, entered into capitulations; and thus resistance in the field ceased. It was the object of the Duke d'Angouleme to conclude the war without bloodshed, and with the utmost moderation, with which view he published the proclamation of Andujar, prohibiting arbitrary arrests, at which the provisional government took offence as arrogating an undue authority. In the meantime the Cortes manifested a turbulence and obstinacy which partook of insanity. When their cause was entirely hopeless, they declared the king incapable of reigning through mental imbecility, deposed him, and appointed a provisional government, with Valdez at its head. They then removed to Cadiz, where they kept the king in close confinement. On the 21st of June the French entered Seville, and advanced forward to Cadiz, having traversed, in less than three months, the whole extent of the kingdom of Spain. The Cortes, however, still held out, refusing to listen to any terms, although the Duke d'Angouleme offered to guarantee a general amnesty, and also the granting of appropriate institutions by the king. Siege was accordingly laid to the place, but it was not until the 1st of October that the Cortes finally gave in, and restored Ferdinand to liberty. The use he made of that liberty was sufficiently deplorable: one of his first acts was to hang General Riego in a most barbarous manner, the very man whom he had previously feigned to admit to his familiar confidence. He declared null and void all the acts of the constitutional government, and re-established despotism on its old basis. Not all the remonstrances of the Duke d'Angouleme could induce him to grant an unconditional amnesty; the exceptions he made to it—which included almost every one who had taken any part in the establishment of the constitution, from the first mutiny in the Isle of Leon to the deposition of Seville—were so numerous, that instead

of a ministration of grace, it resembled more a general act of proscription.

During these important events in Spain, a very singular affair had occurred in the neighbouring kingdom of Portugal. This little dependency of England, as the French writers, with malevolent purpose, persist in representing it, had likewise given itself a constitution, which the reigning monarch, Don John VI., had, like the two Ferdinands of Naples and Madrid, sworn solemnly to observe, probably with somewhat greater sincerity. His eldest son, Don Pedro, who was Prince-Regent of the Brazils, had taken the opportunity of this change to declare the independence of that colony, and proclaim himself its emperor. His second son, Don Miguel, was in Lisbon, and, being emboldened by the presence and success of the French in Spain, he effected a counter-revolution, and seized the reins of government, constituting his father a prisoner in the palace of Bemposta. From this palace the French and English ministers induced him to take refuge on board the British ship *Windsor Castle*, lying in the Tagus, whence he annulled the acts of his son, and summoned him to appear in his presence. The prince, rather weakly, thought fit to obey, and upon the command of his father, he promised forthwith to quit the kingdom, and to go upon his travels in foreign lands. Things were therefore put upon their former footing; and in order to keep them so, Canning sent King John 6000 troops, Hanoverians in British pay. This step he took the more willingly, both from his jealousy of the French interference in Spain, and from his desire to show that England would at all events protect Portugal from being coerced to relapse into the baneful ways of despotism.

The complete and rapid success of the war in Spain, from which such evil auguries had been drawn by the Liberals, had an extraordinary effect in strengthening the government of Louis XVIII., and likewise the ministry of M. de Villele. The first material, as well as decisive symptom of this, was exhibited in the rise of the public funds, which enabled the minister to accomplish a financial operation, which his opponents had unwisely prophesied would prove a failure whenever he attempted it. By successive votes of credit, passed on the 8th of March 1821, 1st of May 1822, and 17th of August 1822, an issue of *rentes* had been authorised to the extent of 19,114,516 francs, for the liquidation of the outstanding arrears, belonging principally to the imperial government, which the Chamber of 1815 had shown such repugnance to recognise, and adjourned their consideration for five years. These *rentes* had not yet been thrown upon the market, and in addition to them were the 4,000,000 created for the expenses of the Spanish war. These together formed 23,114,516 francs of 5 per cent. *rentes*; and Villele, taking advantage of the buoyant state of the money-market, now offered them for public competition. Four financial

companies presented sealed tenders for this large amount of stock, of which that made by the House of Rothschild was considerably the highest; and being above the minimum of the minister, the loan was adjudged to them. They took it at the rate of 89 francs 55 centimes, being the highest rate yet commanded by the 5 per cent. *rentes*. This produced a capital in the gross of 413,980,981 francs, which the Messrs Rothschild undertook to pay into the French treasury at stated intervals. It is an anomalous fact, that the more the public debt of France was increased, the higher it seemed to stand in the estimation of capitalists; and from this moment the price continued to rise until it attained the figure of 115, thus assuring to the fortunate Hebrews an enormous profit upon their speculation.

Villele was an ambitious and artful man, who saw that the time was most propitious for striking a blow which would totally annihilate the Liberal opposition. He had gained a complete mastery in the cabinet and over the mind of the king, supported as he was by the reigning female influence; and he was so intolerant, not merely of opposition, but also of anything like rivalry, that he successively got rid of all his colleagues whose independence of character or superior talents unfitted them to be simply his instruments. Thus at the risk of offending a large portion of the Royalists, he displaced, first, Victor from the ministry of war, and secondly, Chateaubriand from that of foreign affairs, filling their places with men little better than nonentities. But it was not only in the councils of the king that he aspired to assure himself an undivided sway: he sought also to secure a preponderating majority in the legislative Chambers, particularly in the Chamber of Deputies, and with this view he revolved a grand and comprehensive scheme. He resolved, in the first place, to dissolve the existing Chamber, and then to make a fundamental change in the law regulating its existence. In short, he determined, like Sir Robert Walpole in England, to whom he bore some points of strong resemblance, to give the Chamber a duration of seven years—not doubting that it would be overwhelmingly Royalist in its complexion—and to abolish the annual renewals of a fifth, which had caused such fluctuations in its composition.

On the 24th of December, accordingly, a royal ordinance was published dissolving the Chamber of Deputies, and convoking the colleges of *arrondissement* for the 25th of February following, and those of the departments for the 6th of March. In all the previous elections that had taken place since the famous ordinance of the 5th of September 1816, ministerial influence had been improperly exercised to sway them, but it was utterly insignificant in comparison to the force Villele now brought to bear upon them. Violent partisans of the government were universally appointed presidents of the electoral colleges, who

scrupled not to adopt any measures to secure the defeat of obnoxious candidates. The priests exerted themselves with indefatigable industry, and in every see episcopal and pastoral letters were circulated, enjoining upon the faithful the choice of true friends of the Church and the throne. But it was by wholesale corruption principally that the striking result was obtained. Places, and promises of places, were profusely distributed among the electors; and in the absence of these, bribes and other direct advantages were offered. By these shameful and villanous practices, combined with undoubted Royalist tendencies among the majority of the electors, the Liberal party was almost entirely annihilated, only 17 of the left and centre-left having been returned, among whom, however, were three influential debaters, General Foy, Benjamin Constant, and Casimir-Perier. Such a complete extinguishment was perhaps never witnessed in an electoral struggle; and yet so vain are the devices of man, this very extinction of the Liberal opposition, over which Villele and the Royalists so exulted in 1824, was mainly instrumental in accelerating the catastrophe of 1830.

No sooner has a party gained a decisive victory which enables it to disregard its natural adversaries, than it is certain to split into divisions. This was pre-eminently the case in the present instance. The Royalists were divided into four colours—namely, the centre-right, the most moderate of the whole, if any could be called moderate, of which the principal leaders were Martignac and Gauthier; the pure right, being more particularly Villele's own shade, of which Frenilly and St Chamans were the chief orators; the Congregation, an essentially religious fraction, counting upwards of 120 votes, and led by Clausel de Coussergues and the Marquis de Rougé, a retainer of the Pavillon Marsan; lastly, the extreme-right, or counter-opposition, as it was called, of which Labourdonnaye and Delalot were the implacable chiefs. Villele could in general rely upon the support of the three first divisions, but it was necessary for him to give himself blindly to the Royalist impulse, particularly with regard to priests and religion, otherwise that support would have been immediately withdrawn; and thus it is probable that he often adopted measures his own better sense condemned.

The Royalists of 1824 were therefore precisely in the situation of the Jacobins in 1793: they were undisputed masters of France. It was upon their own conduct, upon their moderation in success, that the stability of the Restoration now depended. Unhappily the lessons of experience were wholly lost upon them. Undeterred by the resistance of an effectual opposition, they plunged headlong into a career of reaction which could scarcely fail to have a fatal termination. In every point they contemned and outraged the enlightened expansion of opinion and the progres-

sive spirit of the age; they sought to crush all thought and liberty of conscience under the combined yoke of oppressive laws and priestly dominion; they violated the principles which the Charter itself had consecrated, and restored to the accident of birth those unjust privileges which had been swept away alike in the storm of revolution and in the calm deliberation of superior intelligence; they sacrificed the interests of the nation to benefit a class which, by its supreme folly and viciousness, had drawn upon itself merited misfortunes; in a word, they disregarded all warnings, they asserted their empire in its roughest and most odious form, and they fell, like their predecessors, into the abyss their own unbridled passions had prepared for them.

Villele had appointed the 23d of March to meet his new parliament, from which he anticipated so grateful an obedience, and so long a lease of power. In his opening speech Louis dwelt naturally with complacency on the triumph of the French arms in the Peninsula, and on the achievements of his nephew, who had been received on his return with all the honours that might be paid to the most doughty of heroes. He alluded to the two great measures which were to form the chief labours of the session—namely, the septennial project for the Chamber of Deputies, and the reduction of the interest on the national debt; he congratulated the assembled legislators on the prospect of a long continuance of peace in the world; on the prosperous condition of France; on the productive growth of the public revenue; and on the happy lot they enjoyed of being associated with an era so fortunate and memorable for France.

The measure for the reduction of the interest on the national debt was subsidiary to another which was as yet only darkly hinted at—namely, an indemnity to the emigrants, and an increase of endowments to the Church, for which the Royalists were beginning to clamour with most lusty voices. The indemnity to the emigrants alone was estimated at a milliard, a thousand millions, or £40,000,000 sterling—a sum which Villele shrank from attempting to raise by direct means. The device he hit upon, therefore, to procure it was to lower the interest of the existing debt, and borrow a capital on the saved difference. This seemed an easy and justifiable operation, since the 5 per cent. *rentes* were already above par, and the sinking-fund was consequently exposed to buy stock at a premium. The question simply was, how the reduction was to be made, and to what extent—whether it should be general and immediate, or partial and gradual. The more equitable mode for the creditor doubtless was a gradual reduction, to be made on specified portions of the debt to be decided by lot; but this was a mode too simple and honest to suit stockbrokers, who wanted an operation which gave them ample scope for jobbing. Hence Villele listened to the

tempting proposal of Rothschild, Baring, and Lafitte, and concluded a treaty with them on the terms they offered. By this treaty he undertook to introduce a law for the conversion of 140,000,000 of consolidated 5 per cent. *rentes* into 3 per cents.; whilst they, on the other hand, undertook to provide him with all the funds requisite to pay off dissenting creditors at the rate of 75 per cent. of the new stock. This was certainly a very advantageous arrangement for the State, although extremely harsh and unjust to individuals, and demonstrated the flourishing credit which France enjoyed at the time. The treaty was kept a profound secret, and in the meantime the contracting parties were to operate on the Bourse to enhance the price of stocks, so as to facilitate the proposed conversion; in which recondite traffic they plied their manœuvres so well, that before the scheme was made public, they had driven the price up to 115.

When Villele introduced this project to the Chamber of Deputies, it was very well received by the Royalists, except by the fraction of the extreme-right, because they knew what ulterior design it implied: the counter-opposition rejected it, because they held the indemnity to the emigrants should be an independent measure at once boldly and frankly adopted. In the country generally, and in Paris especially, it evoked an expression of warm reprobation, for it assuredly affected very materially individual fortunes. Paris, it was estimated, would suffer a diminution in the income of its inhabitants to the extent of 30,000,000, by which the interests of all classes would be sensibly injured. To small annuitants, of whom there was an immense number, it would be totally ruinous; whilst to the more affluent, a sudden reduction of two-fifths of their incomes must be a serious deprivation. Hence the measure was regarded almost with consternation by a large part of the population, and by the press it was assailed with unsparing invective. Nevertheless the Chamber of Deputies passed the law by a majority of 238 to 145. During the discussion, the condemnation of it grew more general and intense, and by the time it arrived at the Chamber of Peers, a perfect storm of opposition was raised against it. The minister was accused, very justly, of keeping the treaty secret for four months, during which the funds were artificially raised to a preposterous figure, and in the benefits of which operation his partisans had been made largely to participate. The Archbishop of Paris was induced to denounce the measure as a fraud upon the poor; and after a vehement debate, to the deep mortification of the premier, it was rejected by a majority of 120 to 105. This result was received with a burst of universal acclamation, and it invested the Chamber of Peers with a serviceable popularity; but it caused innumerable failures on the Stock-Exchange, and spread

desolation among speculators, who had been misled by the fallacious dealings of the mammoth capitalists.

The septennial bill encountered a much less strenuous resistance, and after considerable discussion, it was passed by the Chamber of Peers, in which it had been appropriately first introduced. It was decried by its opponents as a flagrant infraction of the Charter; by its advocates it was landed as a guarantee of stability, the essential necessity of France. In this latter view it was bitterly derided by Royer-Collard. 'During the last half-century,' asked this orator, 'has there been a system followed out, has there a ministry subsisted, has there a political maxim or reputation endured, for seven years? What will happen in seven years? Who in France can answer such a question?' A future of seven years without some great change appeared insupportable and impossible; the attempt to fix it was in derogation of the national versatility. However, the deputies ratified the decision of the peers, and conferred on themselves the prolonged vitality Villele had contemplated for them.

A considerable alteration was doubtless operated on the French constitution by this measure, which more closely assimilated the Chamber of Deputies to the House of Commons in England; but there is no reason why it might not have operated beneficially if a temperate and intelligent Assembly had been returned under it. The example of England was indeed an all-powerful motive at this period in France, and particularly in financial matters, of which Pitt was understood to be the greatest master in modern times. His system of contracting loans had been frankly and unreservedly adopted; but there was another resource to which he was accustomed to apply, which had hitherto scarcely been used in France. This was the issue of Exchequer bills, by which he raised money on emergencies, or anticipated the receipts of the revenue; but which, being once issued, were generally kept floating in the market by means of renewals, until, when they reached an inconvenient amount, they were quietly absorbed into the permanent debt, and the system of emission recommenced. This facility seemed extremely desirable to the French financiers, since it gave them a power of creating money at will, which is invariably so fatal to the interests of nations. But the danger was unheeded, and the government was authorised to issue 'royal bills' (*bons royaux*), provided that not more than 140,000,000 were in circulation at one time—a proviso rendered nugatory by the power to exceed that amount if it were found insufficient, such excess to be notified to the Chambers at their next session. This first issue was made to meet the additional expenses of the Spanish war, for which a supplementary credit was granted of 107,768,000 francs, which, with the sum allocated in March 1823,

swelled the cost of that enterprise to very nearly 210,000,000 francs, or £8,400,000 sterling.

The legislative session of 1824 was closed on the 4th of August, and on the same day Villele remodelled his cabinet. Since his dismissal of Chateaubriand, which he communicated with revolting abruptness to that illustrious personage, he had himself filled the office of minister of foreign affairs. He now installed Baron Damas in that post, moving Clermont-Tonnere from the marine to the war ministry, and appointing Count Chabrol to the vacant department. To satisfy the demands of the Congregation and the Royalists generally, he created a new ministry of ecclesiastical affairs and public education, which he confided to the charge of Frayssinous, Bishop of Hermopolis, who had previously been placed at the head of the French University. Thus the influence of the clergy kept continually increasing, and very extravagant demands began to be urged on their behalf, which, if granted, were calculated to render them more predominant than even under the old régime. As it was, they already exercised a tyranny and priestly supervision which was very hateful to a people like the French, who, of all others, perhaps, are the least prone to tolerate the fetters of religious bigotry.

At the same time Villele evinced the arbitrary and unscrupulous character of his government by an extraordinary measure touching the press. By the law of the 17th of March 1822, the judges of the royal courts were empowered to suspend, or even suppress, journals of evil tendency; but these judges proved rather more conscientious and independent than Villele had anticipated, and they refused to suspend certain journals which he prosecuted before them. After a disgraceful effort to buy up with the public moneys some of the journals that offended him, and in which scheme he was very partially successful, he fell back on a clause in the same law which permitted the establishment of a censorship during the vacation of the Chambers, in the event of any critical emergency arising. Although no such critical emergency existed, but chiefly to gratify his revenge against the newspapers for the part they had borne in defeating his scheme of conversion, no sooner was the session closed, than, by a royal ordinance, he revived the censorship, and thus placed under his immediate control the whole periodical press of France.

Thus the closing days of Louis XVIII. were saddened and tarnished by the supremacy of that implacable system which it had been the effort of his reign to subjugate. His health had been long declining, and of late years he had lost the use of his limbs, which were so swollen and ulcerated, as to render it painful to approach him. By means of a mechanical contrivance he was lifted in his chair down the staircase and into his carriage, which enabled him to take those daily drives he greatly enjoyed,

and during which he was continually urging his coachman to increased speed. His body had got into such a state, that the least touch gave him acute pain, and the process of dressing and undressing him was peculiarly difficult and delicate, exposing his valet-de-chambre to frequent repetitions of invocations and maledictions. Latterly, he had fallen into almost complete prostration, insomuch that he could not read the ordinances Villele brought him to sign; but he persisted, nevertheless, in exercising these functions of royalty. Up to the 10th of September he gave audiences, although he was unable to raise his head from his breast, and presented a most pitiable spectacle. When he lay on his deathbed he was perfectly conscious and resigned; he had all the rites of the Catholic Church administered to him which are appointed to be solemnised in the dying moments of the faithful; he spoke earnestly to his brother of the character of his reign, and exhorted him to emulate his example, and aim to be the king of a nation, and not of a faction. 'I have followed the policy of Henry IV.,' he said in broken and scarcely articulate accents; 'I have excelled him in dying in my bed in the Tuileries. Act as I have done, and you will reach the same peaceful and tranquil end.' All the royal family stood weeping around his bed, and he raised his hand to invoke upon them the blessing of Heaven. When the infant Duke de Bordeaux was presented to him, he turned significantly to his brother, and said, 'Let Charles the Tenth take care of the crown of that child!' These were almost his last words, and he expired at four in the morning of the 16th of September, lacking exactly two months of his seventieth year.

The death of Louis XVIII. was regretted by the French people, although they had been long accustomed to indulge in jokes at the expense of his infirmities. It is impossible to deny that he possessed many claims to their gratitude, and considering the ineradicable prepossessions of his education, he was as enlightened and intelligent a prince as has ever sat upon their throne. Few monarchs have gone through such an ordeal as he successfully underwent, with so little of that personal capacity to dazzle and captivate which so eminently distinguished his great predecessor, and which is so essential to fix the levity of the French character. In disposition he was inclined to be revengeful and spiteful, storing up enmities with retentive memory; nor was he prone to form friendships, nor to adhere to them with a very sincere constancy. He was a classical scholar, and loved dearly to show his erudition by reciting lines from the Latin poets, particularly from Horace and Virgil, whose flowing verses his courtiers were fain to learn, that they might respond to the royal incantations. In conversation he was witty, and replete with anecdote; in deportment, despite his unwieldy figure, he was dignified, and his lan-

guage was marked by a correct and polished elegance. His judgment of men and things was in general accurate, and at many critical periods of his reign, he displayed a discretion and firmness which evinced the higher attributes of mind and character. As to religious faith, Louis was far from sharing the intense piety affected by his family and court; and although he was a strict observer of all ceremonies, which he regarded as traditional concomitants of the throne, no priestly influence ever rivetted its baneful sway on his conscience or his intellect.

Like most of the princes of his line, Louis XVIII. was apt to fall under the influence of women who had sprightliness and grace rather than beauty to recommend them. These became not his mistresses, but his favourites, and he showered upon them boundless marks of his generosity. Two, in particular, he noticed with his especial intimacy and munificence: one was Madame Prinsteau, the sister of Decazes, and the other the Countess Ducayla, who exclusively absorbed his favour during the latter years of his reign. For this lady he built a sumptuous residence at St Ouen, on the site of the dilapidated castle in which he had signed his famous declaration of St Ouen in 1814; and it was his delight to surprise her with rapid visits at this charming retreat. Villele obtained an ascendancy over her, it is to be feared by means other than honest, which he used to strengthen his power with the king, and thus she became an instrument of reconciling Louis in his dotage to the system of his astute and redoubtable minister.*

In general prosperity France made considerable progress during the reign of Louis XVIII. From her naval inferiority during the war, she had lost almost the whole of her maritime commerce, and particularly that valuable colonial trade which she possessed prior to the Revolution. The loss of St Domingo alone was of immense detriment to her, since, from being the supplier of coffee and sugar to the rest of the continent, she became herself a purchaser of them, and principally from her very enemy, England. This was a fatal disadvantage to her in the course of the war, which all Napoleon's exactions were scarcely able to compensate, and which she sought to obviate by an extensive cultivation of beet-root, for the growth of which the soil and climate of France are singularly propitious, and out of which a coarse and inferior sugar is extracted. But with the cessation of war commerce naturally revived, and both the exports and imports rapidly increased. The former rose from £17,000,000 sterling in 1815, to nearly

* Death used his scythe pretty freely in the years 1821, 1822, 1823, and 1824, upon the men who had figured in the Revolution. In the first, besides Napoleon, died Beurnonville and Camille-Jordan; in the second, the Duke de Richelieu and Lord Castlereagh; in the third, Dumouriez, Davoust, Carnot, Pius VII.; and in the last, Prince Eugene (Duke of Leuchtenberg), Cambaceres, Lebrun, and Louis XVIII.

£22,000,000 in 1824; whilst the latter progressed in the larger ratio of from £9,000,000 to nearly £28,000,000. But it is a striking proof of how deadly a blow the Revolution had struck at the trade of the country, that the imports in 1789 exceeded £25,000,000 sterling, and the exports were above £18,000,000; whilst since that era the population had increased from 25,000,000 to above 30,000,000, the census of 1820 giving in exact numbers 30,407,907, as the population of the eighty-six departments of France.

Another effect of the Revolution began to be manifested in a manner which was of serious import to the future welfare of the country. From the sale of the confiscated property of the nobility and clergy, the number of landowners had been multiplied in a tenfold proportion; and through the operation of the law of succession, which was framed to prevent the accumulation of properties, and compelled a testator to divide his estate among his children or nearest kindred, this number was continually augmenting, until so minute a subdivision of the soil was threatened as might seriously interfere with its proper cultivation. The experience of all countries proves that too minute a subdivision of the soil is prejudicial to agriculture, from the want of capital and instruction among its possessors to improve it, and that the condition of the rural population under such circumstances invariably deteriorates. This effect has been in a material degree averted in France by the prodigious amount of alienations that are perpetually taking place, showing that capital still continues abundant in the country, and that it is preferably applied in the acquisition of land; but still there are upwards of 4,000,000 owners of land whose income from that source does not exceed £8, and of these 2,500,000 are registered as possessing only £2 sterling per annum. This presents the agreeable picture of an immense peasant proprietary, necessarily engaged in the virtuous and invigorating occupations of agriculture, enjoying a happy sense of independence, bound by interest to the cause of stability and order, and forming the regenerative elements of true national strength.

Under the Restoration the finances of France showed a remarkable buoyancy. The effects of the national bankruptcy under the Directory, and of the vast losses sustained by the extinction of the assignats, had disappeared; the wars of a quarter of a century had failed to exhaust the resources of a country so lavishly endowed by nature with her richest gifts; even the retributive sacrifices imposed upon her after the catastrophe of Waterloo had not so sensibly afflicted her as, from their amount, might have been apprehended. In 1815 the interest upon the then existing national debt amounted to 100,000,000 francs, and the whole budget of expenditure to 547,700,000 francs; but there was an outstanding arrear incurred prior to the 1st of April 1814, calcu-

lated at 1,000,308,000 francs, the burthensome legacy of the Empire. This arrear was afterwards liquidated by inscriptions of *rentes* in the Great Book, and the public debt was further increased by other emissions, which swelled the yearly charge for it and the sinking fund in 1824 to 237,085,785 francs, whilst the general expenditure was augmented to upwards of 660,000,000, making the entire expenditure of the year nearly 900,000,000 francs, or £36,000,000 sterling. Such an amount of taxation was doubtless considerable; and being levied principally in the shape of direct contributions, must have weighed oppressively on the community; yet complaints were neither loud nor general against these burthens; and from the facility with which future governments were allowed to increase the expenditure, it may reasonably be inferred that France could, without undue pressure, bear the drain upon her resources annually made by the government of Louis XVIII., and that under its comparative economy she enjoyed a state of great financial ease and comfort.

CHAPTER XX.

ACCESSION OF CHARLES X.—CONTINUATION OF THE VILLELE MINISTRY—
 PREDOMINANCE OF THE RELIGIOUS PARTY—DIFFICULTIES OF FOREIGN
 AFFAIRS—GENERAL ELECTION OF 1827—BARRICADES IN PARIS—RE-
 TIREMENT OF VILLELE—1824 TO 1828.

Immediately after the death of Louis XVIII., his successor, Charles X., left the palace of the Tuileries, and proceeded with all his family to St Cloud, a royal domain claimed for her own by the daughter of Louis XVI., in right of her mother, for whom the spendthrift Calonne had originally purchased it. The accession of the new monarch took place at a very favourable period for his peaceable assumption of the crown. The birth of an heir to the dynasty, and the successful issue of the Spanish expedition, had thrown around the sceptre of the Bourbons that halo of good fortune which is so liable to dazzle populations, and to which the mystical invocations of Napoleon had imparted a peculiarly tutelary character in France. The Royalists had obtained a complete ascendancy, and the authority of the government had never seemed more firmly established. Indeed, in despair of effecting any fresh revolution, and excluded by the last elections from the Chamber of Deputies, Lafayette, that inveterate plotter of civil broils, had betaken himself to the United States of America, there to receive the incense of exaggerated flattery, which was so grateful to his superlative vanity, and to gather also the more substantial reward of a pecuniary donation conferred upon him by the grateful and enthusiastic people he had assisted to win their independence.

Charles X. had already attained a venerable age when he ascended the throne of France: born on the 9th October 1757, he lacked only a few days of completing his sixty-seventh year. In person he was the reverse of his deceased brother, being tall, slim, and of graceful exterior, combined with great elegance and suavity of manner. In youth he had been remarkable for the number and variety of his amours; and even at a time when libertinism was universal, and when royal frailties were regarded with respectful indulgence, he had given cause of scandal by his flagrant inroads on the domestic peace of families. In the other excesses of appetite he had been more abstemious, and enjoyed the reward of continence in a robust health; but when advancing years had

slackened the fire of youth, he had wrapped his ardour in a religious mantle, and, as became a reformed libertine, sunk into a devotee. In capacity he was greatly inferior to Louis XVIII., but was not so liable to be swayed by the opinions of others: he was obstinate and confident, wedded to the prejudices he had imbibed from infancy, and impressed with a high sense of the sacredness of the authority he wielded. In other respects he was of an amiable disposition, much beloved by his friends and attendants, generous in his gifts, and truly princely in his habits and attributes.

As the new king had in reality directed the march of affairs during the previous two years, his accession was attended with no change in the government. In character it became still more intensely religious and reactive; and to keep his place, Villele was compelled to share the supreme influence with priests and Jesuits. Among the Royalists the cry was general that nothing had been done for religion, and they complained that the great mission of the Restoration was still unfulfilled: they demanded the re-establishment of the clergy in all their former privileges; that the custody of family registers should be replaced in their hands; that the rite of marriage should precede, if not displace, the civil bans; that the religious fraternities should be revived, and the laws of mortmain repealed in their favour. They were desirous also of reimposing the disqualifications to which dissenters from the Church were formerly exposed, holding, with the British government of the same period, that to deviate from the stereotyped letter of the State faith was sinful and rebellious; and they were, moreover, especially desirous of subjecting the entire education of the country to ecclesiastical direction. Mingled with this religious fervour was also the desire to see revived all that was feasible of the old monarchy, especially its decentralised administration and provincial Assemblies, by which they hoped both to annihilate the ascendancy of Paris, even to the taking from it the seat of the court and the legislature, and to rear in opposition to its turbulent population an organised system of independent municipal and local institutions. This design, although conceived in a party spirit, was in the main a beneficial one, since so long as the savage populace of Paris can upset and make governments at its pleasure, it is clear that France can scarcely hope to enjoy more than intermittent periods of repose and stability; but here, as in all other cases, long habit is an essential condition of success; and it is to be feared that the French, as a people, are incompetent to exercise the functions of local self-government. In the performance of quiet and unobtrusive duties they take no pleasure, nor is the spirit of association alive within them: accustomed, in all phases of their history, to be ruled by an administrative despotism, royal, democratic, or imperial, they are deficient in aptitude, incapable of con-

joined action, and especially defective in that sound sense and continuity of purpose which so distinguishes the Anglo-Saxon race, inured by the simple, but fertile institution of the jury, from the times of the English Heptarchy, in the exercise of the chief social functions, and which promises to secure it an ever-expanding preponderance on the continents and the archipelagos of the old and the new world.

In the composition of his court Charles X. gratified all the urgent cravings of the keenest Royalists. The royal household was formed upon the ancient model of Versailles, and not an officer was omitted who had ministered to the pride and pomp of the Grand Monarque. All the old titles and formalities were disinterred from the rubbish of the tomb, and the palace was filled with stately dignitaries, recommended by their lineage, or their austere and pious deportment, to whom were assigned the trivial and menial offices in which the retainers of courts place their highest ambition. In his own family the king gave an emphatic proof of his reverence for antique usages, by investing his son with the historical designation of DAUPHIN, which had been last held by the hapless Louis XVI. and his murdered son. At the same time he sought to give popularity to the commencement of his reign by abolishing the censorship on the periodical press, which had been instituted by Villele to revenge himself for the contumacy of the royal courts immediately after the preceding session of the Chambers. This timely and unexpected grace operated wonderfully in his favour: the Liberal newspapers in particular sounded his praises in notes of high rejoicing, contrasting his benignity with the spiteful malevolence of his minister; and when he made his public entry into Paris, the versatile multitude greeted him with stentorian acclamations, and showered on his kingly brow the benedictions they were so soon to change to curses.

By another act of favour and concession, due to himself personally, Charles conciliated the good opinion of the Liberal party at his accession. The memory of the last Duke of Orleans, the unfortunate Egalité, was naturally held in abhorrence by the Royalists, and the feeling in some degree extended to his son, who had held a command in the Republican armies during the early campaigns of the Revolution. Afterwards he had become an exile, and been exposed to the rudest buffets of poverty and proscription, for it was his peculiar misfortune to be an object of hatred and jealousy both to the Jacobins in France and to the emigrants out of it. The Directory especially pursued him with its fears; and holding in captivity his two brothers, the Duke de Montpensier and the Count de Beaujolais, made it a condition of their liberation that he should leave Europe and proceed to America. Returning to Europe after some years, he married, in 1809, a princess of

Naples, and took up his abode at the court of his father-in-law in the island of Sicily. The Restoration restored him to his rights as a French prince, next in succession to the throne after the extinction of the reigning family, whose only hope of perpetuating itself rested on the Duke de Berry. From his antecedents, and from his reputation for talents and discretion, he was naturally a favourite with the Revolutionary party, and he was urged on the Allies in 1815 as an acceptable compromise between Napoleon and Louis XVIII.; the one repudiated by France, the other obnoxious as imposed by foreigners. Alexander had even entertained the proposition with some favour, but the rapid advance of Louis XVIII. to Paris, in the wake of Wellington and Blücher, settled the question before any negotiations were matured. Still, Louis remembered this competition; and although the Duke of Orleans disavowed his concurrence in it, he observed towards him a very repulsive mien, insomuch that the duke thought it expedient to return to England, where he remained until 1818. Louis retained his animosity towards him till the last, and refused all applications to invest him with the title of 'Royal Highness,' which he claimed as a prince of the blood. He was obliged to content himself with the inferior appellation of 'Serene Highness;' but Charles X., with a greater magnanimity, overlooked the jealousy which the position of the duke suggested, and conferred not only on him, but on all his sons, the much-coveted designation. He likewise agreed to secure by a law the indefeasible possession of his immense appanage to the duke, which rested at the time simply on a royal ordinance revocable at pleasure; and to insure its adoption by the Royalist majority, it was arranged that the provision should be inserted in the law for settling the civil list of the king himself. Thus the most friendly relations were established between the two elder branches of the royal family; and the Duchess de Berry, in particular, who was herself a princess of Naples, and niece of the Duchess d'Orleans, cultivated an intimacy with her young cousins of the rival stock.

Among the many hints that had been borrowed from the British constitution, the one relative to the dissolution of the parliament on a demise of the crown had not been adopted by France; and the new king had too little reason to be dissatisfied with the existing Chamber of Deputies voluntarily to seek another. The whole body of the Royalists was much more attached to him personally than to Louis XVIII., although the ultra portion of them still continued opposed under Labourdonnaye to the minister Villele. In his speech on the assembling of the legislature, Charles deplored of course the grievous loss he and France had sustained in the death of Louis XVIII.; but he was consoled by the reflection, that the paternal desire of his deceased brother, 'to close the last wounds of the Revolution,' might now

be safely carried into effect; and he announced that he intended at the foot of the altar to swear fidelity to the laws of the State and the institutions granted (*octroyé*) by his brother. He thus alluded to two measures extremely grateful to the majority of his hearers—namely, an indemnity to the emigrants, and a celebration of the old ceremony of the coronation. He was hailed with vociferous applause, and an address in conformity with the speech was voted with unanimity and enthusiasm.

The indemnity to the emigrants was fixed at 1,000,000,000 francs, to be distributed according to the rents of properties as ascertained in 1790, at the rate of eighteen times the income. The money was to be raised by the creation of 30,000,000 of 3 per cent. *rentes* issued by instalments. M. Martignac developed the scheme amid prolonged cheering in the Chamber of Deputies. It was opposed by the left and by the extreme-right: by the first, because it inflicted an injustice on the bulk of the community for the benefit of a particular class, a class which had ignominiously deserted their country, and afterwards been guilty of the most heinous of crimes—that of bearing arms against the land of their birth; by the second, because it was incomplete and without principle, since no reparation could be sufficient or intelligible which fell short of an absolute retrocession of the confiscated estates. But the majority of both Chambers, having a direct pecuniary interest in the question, found these counter-reasons both invalid, and the measure was passed with a hearty good-will into a law of the State.*

This indemnity to the dispossessed emigrants, although doubtful on the ground of expediency, was sufficiently defensible in justice not to excite any very violent clamour; and as it was to be paid by the convenient process of issuing annuities, the pressure of the burthen was not immediately felt on the resources of the country. Besides, Villele accompanied it by another measure for the conversion of the 5 per cents, which, being more equitably framed, he was allowed to carry, and by which he effected a yearly saving of 6,000,000 francs. But it was necessary for him, above all, to satisfy the religious party—the ‘Congregation,’ which was daily swelling in numbers and pretensions, and now overflowed in the court, the legislature, the university, and even the army. Never was the merely religious element in such unlimited ascendancy perhaps in any country, not even in Rome itself; and though it was far from taking the gloomy character of the fanaticism of the English and Scotch in the seventeenth century, it was eminently

* The Chamber of Deputies which voted this law of indemnity was thus composed:—Of the 480 members forming it, 260 were public functionaries, all more or less dependent on the government; 320 were privileged possessors of the old régime; 184 enjoyed titles of nobility. No less than 242 were emigrants, or the sons or near relatives of emigrants. The measure was carried by a majority of 260 to 124 in a house of 383.

repulsive to the tendencies of the age, and abhorrent to the tastes and feelings of the bulk of the population. The Jesuits established numerous seminaries, in which the children of the higher classes were educated, to which it was fashionable for the young nobility to resort, and at which agreeable amusements were provided for their enticement and recreation, such as billiards, cards, and tennis. The disciples of Loyola have always shown themselves men of attainments, address, and worldly knowledge, far superior to any other order of ecclesiastics, and they knew admirably how to instil their insidious doctrines amid the arts and blandishments of an affected insouciance and a refined gaiety.

The feasts and ceremonies of the Catholic Church are so multifarious, that for almost every day in the year some peculiar service is set apart, and its ministers have ever at their option an endless routine of sacrificial displays. In ordinary times, they abstain from any undue use of these, and especially from disturbing public industry and tranquillity by outward exhibitions which interfere with the usual avocations of society. But at this time not only the services of the altar were almost continuous, but processions of priests bearing the host through the streets of the capital and other cities were numerous beyond all precedent. At their appearance persons were expected to stop and do reverence to the sacred symbol thus carried in the air, which was a practice by no means agreeable to a people among whom religious ideas had never been strong, and who had almost entirely discarded them in the course of the Revolution. At an expiatory sacrifice held for the death of Louis XVI., and under a bull of dispensation and plenary indulgence granted by the Pope, Paris was tormented for more than a month with these processions, four of which were on a scale of great magnitude, embracing priests carrying craped crucifixes, and singing lugubrious psalms, followed by the king, the members of his family, the officers of the royal household, and by the civil and military authorities of the department. A scaffold was erected on the Place Louis XV., formerly the Place de la Révolution, and afterwards the Place de la Concorde, around which prayers were recited, invoking the Divine pardon for the great national crime, and offering up repentance as an atonement for that terrible deed of the Revolution. Charles X. laid the foundation stone for a monument to the martyred king; and the square, which had borne so many names, was henceforth to be called the Place Louis XVI.

Public opinion was more and more outraged by these manifestations, which were so diametrically opposed to the national spirit and manners; and if it had been possible for this government to take timely warning, it would have been supplied by a striking incident that occurred in the royal court for the department of

the Seine. Among the Liberal papers which opposed the dominant party, and rebuked, in particular, its ultra-religious sympathies, were the 'Constitutionnel' and the 'Courier Français,' both edited by men of great literary reputation and talent. An attempt was made to have these papers suspended, on the ground that their articles had a tendency to injure religion. By the existing law on the press, journals could be suspended or suppressed only by the judges of the royal courts, and accordingly before them this process was instituted. In the pleadings before these learned functionaries, M. Bellart, the king's procureur-general, declaimed with the coarseness and violence that characterised him.

'These journals,' he said, 'see in the Catholic religion only a source of fanaticism, pride, and persecution; it is Protestantism they invoke; their odious project of undermining religion is made apparent, and is progressing: it is time that justice should open its eyes to such scandals and abominations.'

But 'justice' proved itself more enlightened and tolerant than these bigots had expected. M. Dupin pleaded the cause of the defendants, and first distinguished himself in this eventful trial. The judgment of the court was a remarkable deliverance. It not only absolved the journals from the imputed tendency, but it expressly condemned the sentiments professed by a large portion of the French clergy, and justified writers who attacked establishments which were not authorised by the law. This was an allusion to the Jesuits, against whom existing enactments of proscription were still actually in force; and which M. de Montlosier, himself a Royalist, had called upon the courts of law to execute, since the government itself would not do so. A decision so extremely adverse to the government necessarily occasioned a considerable sensation; it was regarded as a signal triumph by the whole of the Liberal party, and it was received by the ultra-Royalists with shame and vexation. They began with more fury than ever to denounce the licentiousness of the press, and to call for stringent measures to curb it. As for the courts of law, they were assailed as attempting to play the part of the old parliaments, and to arrogate a political jurisdiction, which, in sooth, they had been invested with by these very calumniators.

But in the Chambers the Congregation obtained a sweet revenge. Two laws which were passed in the session of 1825 emanated from this extraordinary party. One was the law of sacrilege, and the other for the restoration of female religious communities. The first inflicted the punishment of death on every act of sacrilege, whether it was accompanied by robbery or not. Any act that might be deemed a desecration of a church, or of the rites performed in it, or of the sacred vessels kept within

it, came under the fatal category, and was to be expiated by death. Such a law served rather to indicate the insensate passions of the Royalists and their bold defiance of all rationality, since they could scarcely expect juries or courts to execute its bloody provisions. The re-establishment of nunneries partook of the same spirit, and was intended to pave the way for a sweeping measure of reconstruction, by which the land of France should be once more inundated with lazarettoes of monks and friars.

On the 29th of May the ceremony of the coronation, to which the Royalists looked forward with almost childish exultation, was appointed to take place. The last coronation in France had been that of Napoleon, who had crowned himself, but received consecration from the apostolic hands of the Pope in person. Circumstances were not favourable to the doctrine of infallibility, and the papal consecration had not saved the Emperor from the fate of more unworthy usurpers. The infirmities of Louis XVIII. had prevented him from undergoing the fatigues of the ceremony, and much to his chagrin he had descended into the tomb without having been anointed with the sacred oil. Charles X. was determined to invest the solemnity with all the pomp and magnificence it was possible to throw around it, and the Chambers had responded to his desire by voting the enormous sum of 6,000,000 francs to defray the expenses.* The fame of the approaching spectacle spread through all Europe, and attracted, as usual, an immense number of visitors to Paris. The different courts appointed special ambassadors to represent them, and these vied with each other in the splendour of their liveries and emblazonments. They were selected exclusively on account of their elevated rank and colossal fortunes, without reference to their political importance. The great Hungarian magnate, Prince Esterhazy, represented the emperor of Austria; the lord of a hundred thousand serfs, the Prince Volkonsky, embodied the majesty of Russia; the ancient Castilian of pure race, the proud Hidalgo, Duke of Villa-Hermosa, was proxy for the degenerate Ferdinand; the possessor of many thousand acres, and of an old historical title, the Duke of Northumberland, stood a worthy substitute of George IV., whose taste for lavish expenditure and ostentation he could afford to flatter.

It was in the venerable cathedral of Nôtre-Dame at Paris that Napoleon had consecrated his revolutionary empire; but in ascending the throne of his ancestors, Charles reverted to the old place of coronation used by the kings of France from the early ages of the monarchy. It was in the superb basilicon of Rheims, and by the celestial oil miraculously sent for the unction of

* This sum was to include the charges for the obsequies of Louis XVIII., but still the outlay cannot be considered otherwise than as most extravagant.

Clovis, some of which had been equally miraculously preserved when the holy phial was broken by the sacrilegious Republicans, that the king of the Restoration sought to be crowned and anointed. The Archbishop of Rheims officiated as primate of the French episcopacy, and was assisted by coadjutors arrayed in the vestments of ecclesiastical grandeur, glittering with gorgeous ornaments, and resplendent with the lustre of crosses worked in gold and silver, inlaid with rubies, sapphires, and diamonds. The king in his royal robes stood conspicuous apart from the splendid retinue that attended him; the ladies and nobles of the court were grouped around; the veteran Moncey, the senior marshal of the imperial army, assisted by Soult and Mortier, held aloft the sword of the Constable of France; peals of solemn music reverberated through the arched domes of the majestic pile; the voices of the priests were raised in holy incantations, and from unseen galleries echoed the mellifluous notes of shrill-toned choristers. Amidst a hushed silence the aged monarch ascended the steps of the altar, and pronounced the oath which had been prepared for him. The formula differed essentially from that anciently in vogue. The vow to exterminate heretics was omitted, and one to govern conformably to the laws of the kingdom and the Constitutional Charter was added. This latter the king solemnly swore to observe faithfully, and as he did so, invoked for himself the aid and support of God and his holy evangelists. The oath was recorded, and a hallelujah responded to the covenant thus sworn.

Besides this oath as a monarch, Charles took another as sovereign of the order of the Holy Ghost, in which he swore to live and die in the true faith, and in the Catholic, apostolic, and Roman religion; and to maintain and defend the order and its statutes, and to uphold it in its high prerogatives. Afterwards he took a similar oath as sovereign and grand-master of the royal and military orders of St Louis and the Legion of Honour, which he in like manner vowed to uphold. Then seating himself in his throne, the archbishop anointed him with the dove-borne oil on the forehead, the breast, the shoulders, and the arms. Placing the crown upon his head, he repeated the invocation and the benediction. The ceremony was concluded, and the immense edifice resounded with cries of *Vive le Roi!* whilst the orchestra thundered forth the *Vivat Rex*. Pigeons were let loose to fly in the vaulted roof, according to ancient custom, in token of the immemorial liberties that were the birthright of the Franks.

The season of a coronation is usually one of a national jubilee, a season of forgiveness, pardon, and rewards. It was especially so in the present instance, for Charles at this period was personally popular, and he wisely strove to mark the occasion by unlimited acts of benevolence and clemency. A universal amnesty

for all political offences was proclaimed, by which upwards of 120 prisoners and exiles were restored to freedom and their country. All persons sentenced to imprisonment for offences under the laws regulating the press, or for infractions of the regulations touching forests and fishings, were liberated. All deserters from the army and navy were pardoned. No elevations to the peerage took place, from the anxiety of Villele not to weaken the ministerial party in the Chamber of Deputies; but, in requital, a great number of individuals were decorated with the blue ribbon; and it is a subject of complaint with aristocratic writers, that even under the reign of this true Bourbon, plebeians were admitted to be knights of the highest order—the order of the Holy Ghost. Many soldiers of the Republic and the Empire received this envied distinction, and among them figured distinctively the three marshals, Soult, Mortier, and Jourdan. Amidst the joy of this general festival the king made his public entry on the 6th of June into the city of Paris. He was met at the outer barrier by the entire municipality, who presented to him an address of congratulation. He traversed the streets amid the gladdening cheers of the multitude, and proceeded to Notre-Dame, where a *Te Deum* was chanted. Afterwards he partook of a banquet given him by the city of Paris; public games and rejoicings were held in the Champs-Élysées, and provisions furnished gratuitously to the people. In the evening the whole metropolis was illuminated, the theatres were thrown open to the public, and all Paris was wrapped in the excitement and pleasures of a carnival.

A very different scene was witnessed in this motley capital on the 30th of November. On that day the remains of General Foy were consigned to the tomb, and they were followed by an immense concourse of mourners, as well as by a considerable part of the population. The frank and noble character of General Foy, his unflinching advocacy of popular liberties, his military renown, his fame as a historian, his great talents and brilliant oratory, all concurred to secure him the esteem and affection of his countrymen. By his death the Liberal party lost an able leader, but in that death it found an opportunity of recruiting its strength and menacing its enemies. His funeral was made the occasion of a political display, and one sufficiently imposing to awaken the apprehensions of the government. All the chief men among the Patriots attended the obsequies, and Casimir-Perier pronounced a eulogium over the grave of the sleeping warrior and statesman. An extraordinary interest was excited; and a touching allusion being made to the poverty in which the deceased had left his family, an instant and enthusiastic cry was raised that his orphan children should be adopted by the whole assembly, which was responded to by a general exclamation of 'We swear it!' A subscription was

opened for the erection of a monument to the lamented patriot, and for the support of his children, to which very large contributions were made by the leading Liberals. Laffitte subscribed 50,000 francs, the Duke of Orleans 10,000, Perier 10,000, and among the rest an Englishman, a member of parliament for Northumberland, Mr T. W. Beaumont, to the great surprise and gratification of the Parisians, set his name down for the sum of 2000 francs.

The rumour of another death came floating from the benighted shores of the dreary Azof, which, at an earlier time, would have operated with vast influence on the fortunes of nations. Alexander, the mighty autocrat, who had exercised such a preponderant sway in Europe for the last twelve years, had perished in sorrow and depression in a remote corner of his dominions on the Palus Mœotis, in the small and unhealthy town of Taganrog. His death was one of the most melancholy recorded in history of a reigning monarch. Prone to deep impressions, he had long regarded himself as invested with a divine mission—first to free the world from the tyranny of Napoleon, and latterly to crush the revolutionary conspiracy he was persuaded existed for the destruction of monarchs. The Secret Societies, the Carbonari, had excited in him profound alarm, which was increased by the discovery that they existed in St Petersburg itself, in the Russian army, in the very guards around his person. Among the young officers especially, scions of the very first families of the empire, who had belonged to the army of occupation in France, ideas of liberty fermented, and the project of an assassination, not only of the emperor, but of the whole imperial family, was entertained. The refusal of Alexander to assist the Greeks, with whom his subjects had the powerful sympathies of co-religionists, tended materially to inflame discontent, and to extend the conspiracy in the army. The project was altogether of a most wicked and absurd character, for, based on cowardly assassinations, it was directed to establish a constitutional government in Russia, whose inhabitants were as unfitted for such a gift as the most untutored slaves of Asia. However, to avoid the danger continually threatening him, Alexander deemed it prudent to leave his capital, and take a tour with his empress through the provinces. It was whilst on this tour, his mind filled with the most gloomy ideas, and ever preoccupied with images of death, that he died of fever and erysipelas on the 1st of December 1825, in a mean dwelling, unprovided with the comforts of civilised life. How strange is the fate of these Russian princes, and how unstable the dominion of despotism, most menaced when wielded by an intelligent, humane, and conscientious monarch!

Alexander was not quite forty-eight at the time of his death; and as he had no issue by his consort Elizabeth, who sickened and died within six months afterwards, his eldest brother Constan-

tine of right succeeded him in the throne. This prince had for some time filled the office of viceroy of Poland, in which capacity he was accused of much tyrannical and vicious conduct, such as became his rude and violent character. He was proclaimed emperor at St Petersburg by the Directing Senate and other administrative bodies; his brother Nicholas took the oath of fealty, and it was ordered to be administered to all the troops. But it transpired that, for certain private reasons, Constantine had renounced his right to the throne so long ago as the 14th of January 1822, in a document deposited under seal by Alexander with the Senate, accompanied by an ukase of his own accepting that renunciation, and nominating Nicholas as his lawful successor. Constantine was not ambitious, and so long as he could gratify his personal desires he was content. He adhered to this singular renunciation, and Nicholas accordingly announced in an imperial rescript his accession to the empire. The occasion was seized upon by the conspirators to excite a revolt among the soldiers of the garrison, whom they easily persuaded that Constantine had not abdicated, and that he was their true Gosudar. They assembled mutinously on the square of the Senate House, where they intrenched themselves with artillery to the number of 1800, and were joined by a great number of the inhabitants. The governor of St Petersburg, who attempted to expostulate with them, was shot dead, and Nicholas himself incurred the most imminent danger. At length other troops were brought up who were faithful to the new emperor, and after a considerable slaughter, the insurgents were routed, Nicholas himself displaying all that firmness and presence of mind for which he was afterwards so remarkable. During the night a great many arrests were made, and among them some of persons bearing distinguished names. The young Princes Taubetskoy, Odöeffsky, Obolensky, Valbolsky, and numerous other officers, colonels, captains, lieutenants, both of the army and the navy, were apprehended and lodged in the citadel of St Petersburg, situated in the stream of the Neva, where some were subsequently hanged, and whence most of the remainder were transferred to the deserts of Siberia.

The substitution of Nicholas for Constantine on the throne of Russia must be considered of fortunate promise to the rest of Europe. It is probable, from the indications he had already given, that the latter was not free from the mental maladies of his father, and his reign could scarcely have been otherwise than mischievous. He would have yielded with blind impetuosity to the national wish for a war with Turkey, which that infatuated power did much to provoke by persisting to occupy Moldavia and Wallachia, and which would have deeply endangered the general tranquillity of Europe. Nicholas of course might have his ambition, and would not have hesitated to conquer Constantinople if

the opportunity served; but he was judicious and prudent, and knew all the hazards and dangers of such an enterprise, which weighed more with him than its prospective advantages. Consequently he circulated among the courts an acceptable assurance of his intention to tread in the path of his predecessor, and to observe the same peaceful policy. Thus the Greeks were left to fight as they best might against their old oppressors, although not in Russia only, but in France and England also, their cause commanded a warm and universal sympathy.

But the attention of the western powers was at this time directed more particularly to the continent of America. The immense colonies of Spain had all revolted from the mother country during the war, and she was in no condition to reduce them again into her obedience. They had formed themselves into separate republics; and after having won their independence, they claimed the recognition of other powers. As Spain had hitherto monopolised the trade of these vast countries, the opportunity was tempting to open new channels of commerce both to France and England, and they jointly urged upon Spain an acknowledgment of their independence. This that proud and obdurate court positively refused; and Canning, finding all reason and solicitation hopeless, at once acknowledged all the new republics, and concluded treaties of commerce and navigation with them. He 'called a new world into existence for British enterprise,' as he said himself; and unfortunately, so great was the zeal and cupidity aroused by this magnificent prospect, that a mania of speculation ensued, which led to the most disastrous results recorded in commercial annals, and within the verge of an accident occasioned the stoppage of the Bank of England. France was in a minor degree in the same predicament as Spain. Her fine colony of St Domingo had revolted, and become the black republic of Haiti. What Napoleon had failed to accomplish, Villele was too wise to attempt; and both as an example to Spain, and with a view of benefiting the trade of France, he resolved to offer the emancipated Haitians a voluntary grant of their independence, on condition that they entered into a treaty of commerce, and consented to pay an indemnity to the old colonists. These terms were, after some difficulty, agreed to, and Charles X. promulgated an ordinance conferring on them full and entire independence, which some among them were inclined to spurn as the exercise of an extinct authority; but Boyer, the president of the republic, was a sensible man, and caused its final acceptance. The measure gave great umbrage to the ultra-Royalists; but by the public generally, and by the mercantile community in particular, it was regarded with approbation, and praised as one of the few good acts that had emanated from the existing administration.

To soften the resentment of the dominant party, to whom the sight of revolted negroes being rewarded by a legally-recognised independence was most odious, Villele and Peyronnet devised the expedient of an alteration in the law of succession, which they were aware would be very agreeable to their aristocratic and religious supporters. By the provisions of the Civil Code, parents could dispose by will or gift of only a portion of their property, the devolution of the remainder being imperative on the children; and this, it was alleged, caused the dismemberment of estates to an injurious extent. As a remedy of the evil, it was proposed that in the case of every succession falling in the direct line, and paying 300 francs of land-tax, if the deceased had not devised the disposable share, it should go as of right to the eldest son; and if the disposable share were devised, it must be to one or more of the children. This project of law was introduced in the session of 1826 by M. Peyronnet to the Chamber of Peers, and it excited a commotion through the country very incommensurate apparently with its importance. It was denounced as an attempt to restore primogeniture, and in its wake the whole feudal system; and no doubt the first article did expressly recognise the feudal principle of primogeniture, which is so dear and so essential to aristocracies. Therefore more as an innovation, and one likely to lead to farther encroachments on the sacred principle of equality, it was resisted, than as a measure in itself of much danger. Although Villele had made a great many peers since his advent to power, his successive quarrels with the Richelieu party, with Montmorency, and with Chateaubriand, had weakened his influence in the Upper Chamber, in which, moreover, sat all the Liberals called to the peerage by Decazes. Hence he was far from possessing an assured majority in that assembly; and it is a singular proof of the anomalous condition of the government under the Restoration, that Villele rather preferred it should be so, as it enabled him to place some check on the insatiable demands of the religionists. Accordingly, after a prolonged and vehement discussion, in which the whole of France manifested the keenest interest, as if it involved the decisive contest between the Revolution and the Restoration, the first article of the law was rejected by the peers, and the second only adopted. The public joy was supreme at this great victory; a considerable part of Paris was spontaneously illuminated; the Chamber of Peers was extolled and adulated as the constitutional bulwark of freedom, and the press revelled in maledictions on the heads of the defeated ministers.

The weight of this grievous blow was somewhat palliated to the ministry by the almost unanimous adoption in both Chambers of its new customs-law. By this enactment the protective duties on foreign produce and manufactures were materially increased;

with the design of fostering native industry. It is clear that if every country were to adopt this exclusive system, it would go well-nigh to destroy international commerce altogether. Pitt, with the rare sagacity of his unclouded mind, had far outstripped his age in the consideration of this subject, and he had induced the French government in 1786 to form a commercial treaty for the reciprocal admission of the produce of the two countries at moderate duties, which had certainly operated unfavourably upon the interests of the French manufacturers for the short time it continued in force. Napoleon, who was completely ignorant of the principles of commerce, had steadily refused the overtures of the British government after the peace of Amiens to reopen the intercourse between the two countries, and had even imposed not only protective, but prohibitory duties on most of the products of Britain. From this restrictive policy the government of the Restoration had only slightly deviated; and it was a matter of often-expressed surprise with the exiled Emperor that England had not extorted from France in her humiliation the revival of Pitt's treaty of 1786, which he had supposed would be her very first demand. Very judiciously, no such attempt was made, for with the narrow views then prevalent, it would soon have embroiled the relations of the two courts, and must have led to a more complete alienation, if not to renewed war. Now, when France had resumed her station, it was consistent with her dignity to meet or reject any overtures that might be made to her on the part of her ancient rival; and she accordingly listened to them with all the complacency which the confined knowledge of the times permitted her to vouchsafe.

The great commercial pilot of the day was Mr Huskisson, president of the Board of Trade in the British cabinet, who had been first selected by the intelligent merchants of Liverpool to represent them in the House of Commons. With Canning and Huskisson, both of them plebeians by birth, first commenced that departure from merely aristocratic rule in England which henceforth gradually widened, and led eventually to the utter demolition of the Tory party, which had so long upheld the reign of bigotry and corruption in the country. The primary efforts of these reformers to induce a relaxation of existing systems were directed to the abelition of differential duties on ships, which were clearly most onerous on the country which had the largest trade. They knew it was impossible to induce other nations, and especially France, to establish a complete system of reciprocity, and they confined themselves accordingly to what they had a chance of obtaining. They had likewise to contend against a prodigious mass of ignorance and prejudice in Great Britain itself, and particularly among the shipowners, for whose benefit the alteration was mainly calculated, but who, like all protected

classes, shuddered at the idea of change, and foreboded to themselves inevitable ruin and desolation. Another unconquerable element of resistance was opposed to them in the belief that England herself owed all her commercial greatness not to the unrivalled site she occupied in Europe, not to the industry and energy of her people, but to that very restrictive policy it was now the object of her statesmen to overturn. Heavy import duties, to the exclusion of foreigners, were the real keystone of prosperity; and nothing more was required than for each country to shut its ports and harbours to rise in the scale, and to attain those riches which flowed so abundantly into the favoured Hesperides. These notions were strengthened of course by the tenacity with which the protective system was defended in the British legislature, wherein it was stoutly contended that the imposition of these heavy duties was actually the source, if not the condition, of a maritime and commercial preponderance, and also by the palpable inconsistency of the monopoly maintained in a single company over the entire trade of the teeming continent of Asia.

Already conventions had been concluded for the reciprocal diminution of harbour, pilotage, and shipping dues by England with several of the continental States, who obtained in return the right of direct trade with the British colonies and possessions, excepting only the East Indies, from which the British were themselves excluded for the benefit of the East India Company. Several of the import duties likewise were reduced, particularly those on raw and manufactured silk, which was an invitation and an example for other nations to follow the same course. Especially was it a concession that France might be expected to appreciate; and armed with this powerful argument, Mr Huskisson proceeded in person to Paris to open negotiations for a treaty of commerce. He was opposed to M. de St Cricq, an economist of the Empire, wedded to the prohibitive system, and filled with suspicions against any proposition relative to trade emanating from England. This latter cause operated prejudicially on all the negotiations of the British diplomatists, since it was a universal article of faith that the purest selfishness was at the bottom of all their offers; and that, when they seemed most liberal and generous, they only concealed some insidious design to ruin the commerce of other nations, and to rescue their own from an unseen destruction impending over it. Hence M. de St Cricq was inflexible to the blandishments of Huskisson touching the reduction of import duties, and would allow no value to the diminution of the silk duties in England, which he regarded as a mere fiscal regulation to prevent smuggling; but he consented to enter into a treaty of navigation, based upon the same principles as the previous treaties made by England with Sweden and Denmark, with which the British negotiator was fain to content himself.

The progress made towards a system of reciprocity was thus but meagre, although considered at the time an achievement of great moment, and which was regarded with terrible apprehensions on both sides of the Channel by a large part of the populations. It tended to increase the intercourse between the two countries certainly, but that still remained, as to trade, immeasurably beneath what it ought to have been according to an enlightened and judicious policy. The intercourse as to persons, by which the two nations were coming to know each other better, was daily on the increase, through the rapid growth of that most important of modern discoveries, the application of steam to navigable vessels.

Although there was very little in common between two such men as Villele and Canning, they lived on very excellent terms with each other, notwithstanding the irritation caused by the affair of Spain, the blame of which was thrown on Chateaubriand, who happened to be then minister of foreign affairs. The questions of Portugal and Greece were growing in perplexity, and, coupled with the death of Alexander, were of sufficient interest to induce Canning to take a journey to Paris, with the view of more thoroughly scrutinising the secret tendencies of the French minister. At this time Canning was beyond all doubt the most important man in Europe. He had completely severed England from the system of the Holy Alliance, and was looked up to with a feeling akin to reverence by the whole Liberal party in every country of the continent. His polished and thrilling eloquence echoed through both hemispheres, and on all shores his name was invoked as the expected deliverer of nations from bondage. His was that magnetic force which attracted to him the love, the admiration, and the hope of men, since he had appeared at the critical moment to dispel the gloom of the odious tyranny which hung upon the world, and to adumbrate those lofty truths which were secretly germinating, and were destined one day to find a more awful utterance. But it was not so much in his words or his deeds that the secret of his extraordinary influence lay: it was in the warm and generous sympathies of his character that confidence was reposed; and the same charm which endeared him, beyond all political leaders except Fox, to his immediate friends, served as an electric spark to diffuse its talisman through the civilised regions of the globe.

He was received in France with marked distinction. His was a celebrity which touched the French most keenly. All parties sought to flatter him, to entertain him, to gain his notice. The king was foremost to invite him to St Cloud, where he received him with a regal and delicate hospitality. With Villele he arranged the affair of Portugal so far as France and England were concerned, and that in favour of the Constitutional cause being there maintained. Don John was dead, having previously

abdicated in favour of Don Pedro, emperor of Brazil, who had granted a full and complete charter to his Portuguese subjects, and delegated the sovereign authority to his daughter, Donna Maria di Gloria, a child of tender years. In the meantime a regency was constituted in the person of Donna Isabella, a daughter of the deceased king, whose authority was supported by the direct intervention of England against the machinations of Don Miguel and his adherents. This latter prince, who was soon to be the occasion of renewed disorders in the unhappy kingdom of Portugal, had taken up his abode in Austria, after being exiled by his father, and from thence he kept up a correspondence, and fanned the spirit of discontent. The intervention of England was concurred in by France, on account of a reciprocal acquiescence in her own occupation of Spain, which was still partly continued, although Ferdinand, in return for her assistance, manifested a spirit of hostility and contempt for France which might well excite surprise, if supreme folly could do so on the part of the Spanish Bourbons. Thus for the time the question of Portugal was disposed of, according to eventual arrangements. With regard to Greece also the train was laid for the two countries acting in concert. The fear of Canning was, lest Russia should interfere, and at once accept the protectorate of Greece, as she was solicited to do. Both nations were peculiarly jealous of Russia gaining a footing in the Mediterranean, and from that cause they were constrained to act in a manner contrary to the dictates of true policy. If Turkey were really that essential barrier to the dreaded aggrandisement of Russia, it was necessarily incumbent rather to fortify than to dismember her. Still, such a feeling existed in behalf of the struggling Greeks, so many glorious associations were awakened with the name of their country, and so intense was the horror of the atrocities committed by the Turks in the recent sack of Missolonghi, that the reasons of cold policy could be scarcely regarded, and Sir Stratford Canning had been already instructed to mediate terms of accommodation at Constantinople. A frightful event seemed to promise a favourable issue to a pacific intervention. The Janissaries were a prætorian guard, who, forming the flower and strength of the Ottoman armies, were in the constant habit of mutinying, and demanding the heads of viziers, and even of sultans, as the price of their return to obedience. The reigning sultan, Mahmoud, although he owed his throne to them, had vowed the destruction of these ferocious soldiers, and he executed his purpose with a bloody determination which has scarcely any parallel. Every man of them was shot or burnt in their barracks, and more than 4000 bodies were thrown into the Bosphorus. Thus the sultan rid himself of an insubordinate soldiery, but he at the same time blasted the chief sinew of his empire's might.

Ostensibly to congratulate Nicholas on his accession to the throne, in reality to sound him on the Turco-Greek question, the Duke of Wellington had been sent on a special mission to St Petersburg. This illustrious personage, who was a man of the same cool and sagacious judgment in the cabinet and in diplomacy as he had shown himself in the field, was precisely the envoy most calculated to influence the resolution of the new czar, and to moderate his views, if they soared too aspiringly. His selection for the mission, therefore, was singularly appropriate, and betrayed not only on the part of Canning great discrimination, but on the part of the duke an admirable devotedness, since he was so far from cordially approving the general policy of Canning, that he might well have declined to act as one of his instruments. He was eminently successful in the object of his embassy. By an express convention it was agreed that a joint note should be presented to the Divan by the ministers of England and Russia, insisting upon an armistice and a negotiation for the settlement of Greece independently of the direct Ottoman government. To this convention France subsequently formally acceded, and the Porte was besieged by the menacing remonstrances of all the great powers of Europe; for Austria and Prussia, although they refused to take any part in an intervention, strongly exhorted the Divan to yield to the reasonable propositions of the three high mediating powers. But the Turkish Divan, always obstinate, even in the very worst of causes, protested with anger against so outrageous an interference between it and its revolted subjects, and appealed with some reason to the often-proclaimed principles which had been taken by the interfering powers themselves as the rules of international law. It is quite true that, abstractedly, these powers could have no right to prevent Turkey from subduing and punishing the rebellious Greeks, nor could they advance any plea which might not have been turned against themselves, justifying foreign intervention in all cases of intestine troubles; but the affair was in truth urgent from manifold considerations; and on the 6th of July 1827, Russia, England, and France signed a treaty at London, in which they agreed that the Porte should be warned that, if it persisted in refusing an armistice, they would take such steps as might seem fitting to prevent the further prosecution of hostilities, and to restore the tranquillity of Europe, which had now been disturbed for more than six years. Under this treaty the strange spectacle was exhibited of a united Russian, French, and British fleet sailing into the Mediterranean to coerce Turkey into an involuntary dismemberment of her heterogeneous empire. The fatal battle of Navarino was the consequence, in which the Turkish navy was destroyed, and the Ottoman power still further weakened to resist the attacks of Russia, or the invasions of its own

rebellious pachas. But the independence of Greece was thereby secured, and the friends of humanity and liberty rejoiced at the brilliant result, forgetting that centuries of oppression and barbarism had sunk the Greeks into a degeneracy equal to that of their recent masters, and that it was doubtful whether they could establish a government among themselves more wise and regenerative than the grievous one they had so happily discarded.

Amidst these external agitations, in which France played the part befitting her in the game of European politics, her government continued to follow the same deplorable policy in her domestic administration. The priestly influence was growing hourly stronger over the mind of the old king. In the important choice of a preceptor for the young Duke of Bordeaux, for which the public voice of France assigned M. de Chateaubriand, who had done so much to promote the restoration of the Bourbons, and who enjoyed so high a reputation in literature, the qualification of religion only was regarded, and the appointment given to the Duke de Montmorency, a person of the narrowest understanding, one of the chiefs of the Congregation, a neophyte of the Jesuits, and a supporter of extreme ultra-montane or papistical doctrines. Shortly after his nomination, the duke expired in the church of St Thomas Aquinas, as he was praying before the altar, and M. de Riviere, who, with M. de Polignac, shared the chief personal intimacy of Charles X., was appointed to succeed him. Riviere was even more objectionable than Montmorency, and his selection gave the utmost dissatisfaction. But not the least attention was paid to anything like public opinion. It was set at defiance with a recklessness which partook of insanity. The priests invaded and usurped every public institution, penetrated into the privacy of families, seized and regulated public amusements. In the university of Paris, and in all the other national seminaries, an inquisition was established over the professors and students, by which the slightest deviation from monastic observances was detected, and forthwith punished. In the ceremonies of religion those were excluded from spiritual participation who failed to keep the fasts of the Church, and none were permitted to be sponsors at the baptism of children who had not partaken the sacrament on Easter-Sunday. Balls, concerts, and theatres were placed under ecclesiastical supervision; the representation of Molière's 'Tartuffe' was prohibited, as it occasioned such significant acclamations; the dresses of the women were so ordered, that no part of the bare neck or arms should be seen, and ballet-dancers were compelled to wear long petticoats; in short, France, the France of Voltaire and the Revolution, was subjected to a priestly domination in all things great and small the most intolerable that was ever fastened on a nation more advanced in enlightenment than the Hindoos or the ancient Egyptians.

One of the singular practices resorted to in order to spread religion, as it was supposed, among the people, was that of *missions*. These proceeded to the different towns and villages, which they invariably threw into a state of commotion. They consisted of priests, most of them disguised Jesuits, and their custom was to collect as large a crowd as possible, in which all public functionaries dependent on ministerial pleasure took care to be present with demure countenances, and to perambulate the streets with an enormous tree, borne on the shoulders of 120 men, fashioned into a resemblance of the cross. This tree was afterwards set up in a public square or market-place, and a stage was also erected, from which the chief actors of the exhibition preached, extolling the virtues of the various things they offered for sale, such as relics of saints, scapulas, agnus-deis, tracts, missals, &c. They explained the miracles that had been wrought by the bones of the dead men the Church had canonised, and even sometimes undertook to repeat them, in which attempts they often failed, from defect of machinery or dexterity. Repeated riots were occasioned by these fantastic mummeries, in which the intervention of the military force was requisite to quell disturbance. At Rouen a serious collision took place between the people and the soldiers, and the whole town was kept in a state of alarm and uproar for nearly a week. Large assemblages traversed the streets, shouting with angry vociferations, *Down with the Jesuits! Down with the missionaries!* At Lyons and Brest also popular movements occurred on occasion of the magistrates interfering to prevent the representation of 'Tartuffe,' and in these towns likewise the missions were the cause of infinite trouble and some bloodshed.

Whilst this extravagant religious mania was in its highest ascendant, an inquiry that had been instituted in 1824, with the reluctant consent of Villele, and prosecuted first before a commission, then before the royal court of Paris, and eventually before the Chamber of Peers, was brought to a most lame and unsatisfactory conclusion. This inquiry had reference to the famous Ouvrard contracts for the supply of the army in Spain, in which it was alleged that fully 50,000,000 of the public money had been embezzled. An immense mass of evidence had been taken, which extended to five volumes in quarto; but it was kept secret, and not allowed to be published. No suspicion whatsoever attached to the Duke d'Angouleme personally; but his two chief staff-officers, Counts Guilleminot and Bordesoulle, were charged as implicated in the imputed frauds. Nothing, however, beyond the final judgment of the Court of Peers was made known; and by that the two counts, Ouvrard himself, and all the other accused parties, were declared innocent, there being in reality no proof of corruption in regard to the contracts. Six of the minor characters

were found to have made attempts at corruption, which were not successful, and two of them were subsequently sentenced by the court of correctional police to a fine of 300 francs and imprisonment for six months. Such was the issue of an investigation on which public attention had been fixed for more than two years, and in the course of which very startling disclosures were reported to have been made. Boundless, then, was the indignation at this sterile result and ample acquittal, by which it was supposed high criminals in the court and cabinet of the king were screened; and notwithstanding the authoritative decision of the peers, the belief in the alleged malversations remained profound and universal.

This scandalous affair was eagerly seized upon by the opposition press, to which it afforded an admirable handle for satirising the pretensions of the religionists to purity, and which was held to show them in their true hypocritical colours. The action of the press at this period was tremendous, and the war it waged against the dominant party was beyond example bold, relentless, and talented. Never was the contest between the two antagonist bodies, that of the priesthood and that of the press, more frank or more deadly, and it was evident that one or other must perish in the controversy. The law of 1822 was the last that had been passed respecting the press, by which the censorship could only be established during the vacations of the Chambers, unless by a new law, and in which Villele had rather imprudently conferred on the judges of the royal courts the prerogative of suspending or suppressing journals, and which prerogative they almost invariably refused to exercise. Prosecutions of course might be instituted; but these were tardy, often unsuccessful, and were even courted by journalists, who cared nothing for fines or imprisonments, the first of which were paid by friends, and the other cheered by popular applause and sympathy. In another point the judges of the royal courts became adverse and dangerous to the government of Villele. The Jesuits had been expelled from France long before the Revolution, even under the reigns of Louis XIV. and Louis XV., and by existing laws all religious communities were prohibited, except those of women, allowed under special authorisation by an act of the last session. No attempt was made by the law-officers of the crown to enforce these laws, and it was a question whether individuals might not invoke their execution before the royal courts. M. de Montlosier's famous petition against the Jesuits was entertained by the royal court of Paris, which decided that the seminaries of the Jesuits were illegal establishments, but found at the same time that the agency of the crown was requisite to put the machinery of the law in motion. Several similar decisions were pronounced by the provincial royal courts, in which they condemned in the

strongest terms the doctrines not only of the Jesuits, but of all who maintained the paramount authority of the Pope in the kingdom of France. It may be conceived how such decisions, proceeding from the highest functionaries of the law, and from the only authority independent of ministerial caprice, operated on the public mind, and served to inflame an indignation already too prompt for explosion.

Under these disparaging auspices, it must be confessed that the clergy and the religionists strove with most undaunted mien to extend and perpetuate their dominion. Besides all the circulars transmitted through the offices of the secretaries of State, the bishops issued incessant pastoral addresses to counteract the effect of the articles in the journals, which were denounced as the organs of revolution and infidelity; and in these addresses particular books were stigmatised as irreligious, and were forbidden to be read by the faithful. It is the condition of a priestly government, that it can exist only by the suppression of thought and free inquiry—with liberty of the press it is impossible. This truth now became apparent to the dominant party in France, and it resolved by one decisive measure to crush for ever the expression of opinion, to rivet on France a mental vacuum equally complete and degrading with that which darkened the intellectual sphere within the very purlieus of the Vatican.

In opening the session of 1827, the king vaguely alluded to the necessity of restraining the excesses of the press; but the Chambers were not prepared for the extraordinary measure that was submitted to them. M. de Peyronnet introduced it into the Chamber of Deputies with an elaborate statement. He reviewed the state of the laws as to the press in other countries of Europe, and seemed to take from each of them the most injurious and repressive provisions. The stamp-duty on newspapers was borrowed from England, but the system of free circulation through the post-office was carefully forgotten. By increasing the price of newspapers, the number of readers was necessarily diminished, especially among the less opulent classes, and their influence was correspondingly weakened. Consequently a tax of no less than one franc, or tenpence, was imposed on all writings of less than five sheets—one franc for the first sheet, and ten centimes for every succeeding one. The fines for offences were enormous, ranging from 2000 to 20,000 francs, and these offences included everything that might be deemed defamatory, inciting to sedition, hurtful to religion, or in any way libellous. The proprietors of newspapers required to be registered, to deposit a large sum by way of caution-money, and not exceed five for one newspaper. They were responsible for all articles that might appear in their papers, as well as the printers and publishers of them. Every publication relative to the private life of a citizen or resident

foreigner was punished by a fine of 500 francs, to be sued for officially, whether the injured person complained or not. No work of twenty sheets and under was to be published or removed from the printer's office until after the expiration of five days from the deposit of copies of the work at the proper offices; a work above twenty sheets was to be delayed for ten days. Thus the periodical press was well-nigh extinguished, since very few papers could afford to pay so heavy a duty, or bear up against so crushing a system of fines, to be imposed by such a mere instrument of the executive as the correctional police. By the provisions touching the publication of pamphlets and books, a censorship was in fact established, as no work of course could be published without the privity of the crown-officers. The measure, in truth, was one, such as Casimir-Perier described it, 'for the suppression of printing in France for the benefit of Belgium.'

The excitement caused by the announcement of this project was intense. Public meetings were not allowed, but the newspapers, seeing the fate in store for them, redoubled their attacks on the ministry, and overwhelmed it with abuse and sarcasms. Petitions were sent from every part of the country denouncing the ministerial scheme, and when presented in the Chambers, gave rise to animated debates. The majority of the Chamber of Deputies was itself appalled by so terrible an enactment, and the committee to which it was referred proposed several modifications in it, which did not affect, however, the main principles of the bill. It was hotly opposed in its progress by all shades of the opposition, but was finally passed. In the Chamber of Peers it met with a more successful resistance. Chateaubriand took the lead in opposing it, and was supported by a great many of the pure Royalists, who were quite as disgusted with the priests as the Liberals themselves. At the head of the committee appointed to report upon it was the Duke de Broglie, who called before him a number of witnesses interested in the rejection of the measure, such as editors, printers, and publishers, whose evidence as to its injurious effects produced a powerful impression. In the end, an entire revision of the project was agreed on by the committee; but before it presented its report to the Chamber, the ministers held a cabinet council, at which they resolved to avoid the ordeal of the debate, and to withdraw the measure. The intimation of this design on their part was received with bursts of acclamation in both Chambers, and tumultuous manifestations of joy took place in Paris and in all the chief cities of the kingdom. The peers had again interposed to save France from the malignant spirit which sought to mar her onward destinies, and push her back down the steep of civilisation.

It seems incredible that Villele should incur the risk of so fatal a discomfiture when he knew how insecure was his hold

upon the Chamber of Peers. But he was a man of headstrong purpose, and having once committed himself to a violent policy, he appeared totally insensible to the dangers in which he was involving his own ministry and even the monarchy itself. So long as he could retain the support of the majority in the Lower Chamber, he thought he could carry on the government despite all elements to the contrary, having in this respect a point of resemblance with M. Guizot in the latter years of Louis-Philippe's reign. But the consequences of parliamentary defeats in constitutional governments are always injurious, not only to the stability, but to the character of an administration; and assuredly Villele had nothing to hazard on that score, for never was minister more truly unpopular and hated than himself. His personal temperament was harsh and arbitrary; his treatment of Chateaubriand had shown the inherent littleness and vulgarity of his mind; nor had he any quality which excites the admiration of men, beyond an aptitude for debate, great industry, and a peculiar talent for finances, which he contrived to keep in an apparently buoyant and prosperous state during the whole of his administration, but which turned out subsequently to be in a great measure fallacious. Next to himself his colleagues Corbiere and Peyronnet shared the general odium and detestation, they being the men peculiarly his own in the cabinet, and identified with his tyrannical and brutal system of government.

Scarcely had the sensation caused by this event subsided, than all France was startled by the appearance of an ordinance for the disbanding of the National Guard of Paris. On the 29th of April the king held a review of this body on the Champ de Mars, at which all the thirteen legions of the Guard were present in their best and most imposing aspect. Upwards of 100,000 spectators stood on the banks and slopes around, viewing with interest their venerable monarch riding along the lines, and mingling in the ranks of his citizen soldiers. The weather was fine, and the spectacle was magnificent. Charles was accompanied by the dauphin, and the princesses followed him in a carriage. He was received with acclamations, and repeated cries of *Vive le Roi!* But as he advanced in front of the tenth legion murmurs were heard, and soon shouts arose of *Down with the ministers! Down with the Jesuits!* One man stepped from the ranks and bawled them lustily in the face of the king, who observed to him: 'I have come here to receive homage, and not lessons.' He passed on, and still the shouts continued, until they were taken up and reverberated by the people, when the Champ de Mars became a scene of uproar and confusion. On returning from the field, the Guards defiled through the Rue de Rivoli, and stopping before the hotel of the minister, they joined in a stentorian chorus of *Down with Villele! Down with Peyronnet!*

Charles X. was sensibly affected by popular manifestations, and the silence with which he was usually received in his drives had lately caused him much uneasiness and chagrin, being not altogether convinced that it was owing to the press, as Villele assured him. On the present occasion he either thought fit to dissemble, or he really supposed the mutinous cries to have been very partial, and on reaching the Tuileries, he said to Marshal Oudinot, commander of the Guard: 'It might have been better, but on the whole I am satisfied. There will always be some hotheads, but the mass is sound. Tell the National Guards from me that I am well content with them.' But soon Villele arrives, and relates with exaggeration the disturbance before his own hotel; the dauphiness bursts into indignant exclamations, and asks the king if he will wait to be insulted in his own palace: she declares that it is impossible the affair should be passed over unmarked. A cabinet council is suddenly held, at which it is resolved, by a majority of five voices to three, that the National Guard of Paris should be forthwith disbanded. The king, with much reluctance and hesitation, signs the ordinance which placed him in such fatal hostility with the inhabitants of Paris. It was a measure of personal vengeance on the part of Villele, who in this, as in other instances, gratified his malignity at the expense of the monarchy he professed to serve.

This was the first ordinance signed by Charles X. in contravention of the Charter and of the existing laws. Not that it was absolutely illegal to dissolve the National Guards, albeit an institution based upon a fundamental law of the State, since it was within the royal prerogative to disband an armed body; but it was clearly contrary to the spirit of the constitution, and, as such, held by Laffitte, Constant, and other Liberals in the Chamber of Deputies to justify the impeachment of ministers. The question was evaded by passing to the order of the day, but from this moment the debates became more angry and acrimonious than ever; irritation was at its highest pitch, and denunciations and reproaches were exchanged by the combatants with the fiercest rancour. Nothing was omitted to inflame the passions of parties. The display at the funeral of General Foy had deeply incensed Villele; and on the occasion of the deaths of Manuel and the Duke of Rochefoucauld-Liancourt, when similar demonstrations were attempted, the police and military interfered to prevent them. Very deplorable scenes ensued in consequence. The Duke of Liancourt's coffin was thrown to the ground and broken; the decorations of the peerage were covered with dirt, and the chancel of the church desecrated by an unseemly struggle. A yet more serious, but scarcely a more scandalous disturbance, occurred at the obsequies of Manuel. A desperate conflict took place between the military and the people around the hearse,

which the latter insisted upon drawing to the cemetery of Pere la Chaise, where the deceased was to be buried. The military insisted, on the contrary, that it should be drawn by horses; and it was not until Casimir-Perier had mounted on the top of the hearse and harangued the multitude, that the tumult was allayed, and the funeral procession allowed to proceed.

With these various causes of exasperation at work, the debates on the budget likewise assumed a portentous character. In material prosperity France had continued to progress, and consequently the produce of the various imposts to increase. But although not so materially affected by the commercial crisis of 1826 as Great Britain, France, nevertheless, suffered from its effects, and the entries at her customhouses exhibited a notable decline. According to the custom of oppositions, this symptom of decay was attributed to the government, which was charged, moreover, with a corrupt and lavish expenditure of the public money. It was undoubted that the amount of the budgets kept yearly increasing, both from the augmentation of the national debt, and from the higher estimates for the general departments of the service, and it was easy to ascribe malversations as the cause. The expenditure of the year 1827 was fixed at upwards of 922,000,000 francs, whilst the receipts were estimated at above 924,000,000; but the opposition contested all the calculations of Villele, and denounced them as fraudulent and fallacious. The debates were purposely prolonged, as it was known that as soon as he got his budget passed, Villele would close the session, thereby ridding himself of two annoyances at once—the tribune and the press, since immediately after the prorogation he could impose a censorship. This anticipation he fulfilled to the letter. On the 22d of June he abruptly produced a royal ordinance closing the session, and on the 24th proclaimed the establishment of a censorship, disdaining even to found it upon any preamble of causes.*

From the result of this session, however, it was evident that Villele must procure himself a majority in the Chamber of Peers, or abandon the helm of affairs. In this contingency he displayed all the daring and unscrupulous nature of his character. He formed a very deep scheme to perpetuate his power, but, like

* As this was the last year of Villele's administration, it is proper to notice the state in which he left the national debt. He had effected the conversion of the 5 per cents. upon a much less extensive scale than he had expected, and there were consequently now three different stocks. For 1828 the interest of the 5 per cent. *rentes* was 165,345,211 francs; that of the 4 per cents. 1,034,764; that of the 3 per cents. 34,077,892; making in all 200,457,867 francs, which, with 40,000,000 for the sinking fund, made the whole charge amount to 240,457,867, which was only 8,000,000 more than in 1824, notwithstanding the large capitals borrowed in the interim; but then there was a heavy arrear or deficit extending over both 1826 and 1827, amounting to upwards of 200,000,000 francs, which Villele had been enabled to conceal by the convenient fabrication of *bons royaux*, which have been called the assignats of royalty.

many other cunning knaves, he outwitted himself. Seeing that if he made a promotion of peers sufficient for his purpose, he must needs take a great number from the majority of the deputies, whereby he would endanger his preponderance in that assembly, he determined to dissolve the Chamber, trusting that, by dint of artifices and frauds, he might obtain a yet more assured majority, and get rid in particular of the counter-opposition, which galled him most sorely. He held the Liberals in less account, deeming their chance in the elections as too slender to merit much attention. If his plan succeeded, he was safe in the possession of power for another period of seven years; and the answers of the prefects he consulted as to the probable issue of elections in the departments, encouraged in him the most absolute confidence. He opened his design to the king, who was at first struck by its singular audacity, but ultimately acquiesced in it, although very repugnant to swamp the Chamber of Peers as proposed. Villele, however, overcame his scruples, and on the 5th of November two ordinances were promulgated—one dissolving the Chamber of Deputies, and convoking the electoral colleges of the arrondissement for the 17th, and those of the department for the 24th; the other raising to the dignity of the peerage seventy-six individuals, of whom no less than thirty-seven belonged to the dissolved Chamber, and in whose favour was remitted the stipulation of 1817, making it imperative on peers to institute *majorats* or entails according to the dignity and title held by them.

Independently of his vast administrative machinery to influence and control the elections, Villele possessed all the advantages over his adversaries of a surprise. In addition, he had the assistance of pastoral letters from the bishops, exhorting the electors, by all the considerations they held sacred, to choose only assured friends of the throne and the altar; whilst to regain some popularity, he removed the censorship from the press. But he had grievously miscalculated the extent of the discredit into which he and his system had fallen. To counteract the ministerial manoeuvres, and concentrate their force, the Liberals of all shades had formed themselves into a society under the singular title of *Aide-toi et Dieu t'aidera*—(Be true to thyself, and God will aid thee), to which some Royalists also belonged. By means of this society, short as was the period for preparation, a combined influence was brought to bear on the elections; proper candidates were provided for the constituencies; and in localities where other means of success failed, coalitions were made with the counter-opposition. Nothing, certainly, is more curious or revolting than the picture of elections for the legislature of this period in France. On the one hand were the prefects and other agents of power using every means of intimidation, cajolery, bribery, and fraud, not covertly as such practices are sometimes performed in

England, but openly and unblushingly, to carry the elections of the ministerial candidates. From there being no provision for the publication of the electoral lists, an immense power was vested in the hands of the prefects, who were enabled to falsify the lists almost at pleasure, and to add or erase names of parties whether they paid or did not pay the requisite amount of taxes. This facility was abused to a disgraceful extent, though, from over-confidence, not so much perhaps as would otherwise have been the case. On the other hand were the two oppositions straining every nerve by secret organisation to influence votes; and when either found that it was not sufficiently strong to carry its own candidates, compacts were entered into for splitting the votes, so that an equal number of each was returned. Thus the ultra-Royalist was elected by the same suffrages as the ultra-Liberal, and Labourdonnaye would represent the same constituency as Constant or Lafayette.

The struggle first commenced in the arrondissement colleges. At Paris, whose example has always so much weight with the rest of France, all the Liberal candidates were elected, eight in number, including Dupont (de l'Eure), Laffitte, Perier, Constant, Royer-Collard, and Baron Louis. In the departments success was more chequered, but the defeat of the Ministerialists was complete. The counter-opposition kept its ground, the gains being on the side of the Liberals, who obtained a large majority of the returns from the lower colleges. This result electrified the country, as it astounded the minister and his partisans. Most of the inhabitants of Paris illuminated their houses, and crowds traversed the streets breaking the windows of those unlighted. In the Rue St Denis a terrible commotion took place; numbers of windows and lamps were smashed, many householders maltreated, and the rioters left undisturbed for several hours. At length the police appeared with a body of gendarmerie, who were received with a volley of stones, and driven back. Reinforcements arrived, and the insurgents were dispersed. But they quickly rallied, and began to form BARRICADES, from behind which they defended themselves, and repulsed the military. The officers hesitated to give the word to fire; some companies refused to act; the troops at last advanced, poured in successive volleys of musketry, and stormed the barricades. Above twenty persons were killed or wounded, many of them being mere boys. This first attempt at barricades was made on the evening of the 19th of November. It was renewed on the following days, and on the 20th and 21st full sixty more of the people fell, when, being utterly routed, tranquillity was finally restored.

This disastrous affray was charged by the opposition papers to the machinations of the police, acting under instructions from the minister. It is possible to suppose that these imputations

were in some measure well-founded. Villele was of so reckless and desperate a character, that in order to influence the elections of the department, he might avail himself even of an insurrection; and by frightening the timid with the idea of revolution, still hope to obtain a majority of Royalist returns. It is certain that exaggerated reports of the affair were circulated by telegraph through the provinces; and the prefects had fresh instructions to transfer the ministerial suffrages to Royalists of any shade, if by such means the Liberals could be defeated. Both the minister and the king were in an agony of fear at the prospect of an actual Liberal majority, and devoutly trusted that if the Congregation were destined to fall, at least the ark of Royalism might be preserved. As for Villele, he saw clearly enough that little chance remained for him; yet little as that chance was, he resolved to exhaust it. He thought that by sacrificing the most unpopular of his colleagues, Peyronnet and Corbiere, he might make an approximation towards the left, and become the head of a quasi-Liberal cabinet: he whose name and system were covered with such an indelible opprobrium and detestation! Repulsed with scorn in that quarter, he turned even to the bitterest of his foes, Labourdonnaye, and sought to form an amalgamation between the counter-opposition and the constitutional Royalists, thrusting aside altogether his old friends of the Congregation, who indeed were well-nigh extinguished in the Chamber. But all these miserable attempts at conciliation failed, and the day at length arrived when Villele perceived that his doom was sealed. The only favourable resource left him was to nominate his successors, and this was a task attended with the greatest difficulties; but in his position, menaced by an impeachment, it was his only hope of safety, and he exerted himself with untiring efforts during the whole month of December to form a suitable combination.

A combination he certainly effected, but one of a very strange and heterogeneous character. The principal expression of the new cabinet, so to speak, was Martignac, appointed minister of the interior. He belonged to the centre-right, and had hitherto been a supporter of Villele, who had appointed him to accompany the army into Spain in a high civil capacity. With him were associated Portalis, as keeper of the seals; Count de la Ferronnays, as minister of foreign affairs; Viscount de Caux, as minister of war; Viscount St Cricq, as president of the Board of Trade and Colonies; and Count Roy, as minister of finance. Frayssinous and Chabrol remained in their former posts, as ministers of public instruction and of marine; but they shortly afterwards retired, and gave place to Vatimesnil and Hyde de Neuville. La Ferronnays had just returned from an embassy to Russia, and his name was scarcely known in France. Few personal ties existed be-

tween any of the new ministers ; and they were for the most part, if not unknown, at least strangers to each other. Conditions were mutually imposed both by the retiring and by the acceding ministers. Villele stipulated for himself and his colleagues that they should be protected by all the weight of ministerial power from an impeachment ; and Martignac insisted that, in order to prevent them from becoming opposition leaders in the Chamber of Deputies, Villele, Peyronnet, and Corbiere should all accept peerages. Villele was extremely loth to be extinguished in the House of Peers ; but the condition being made imperative, he with a bad grace was obliged to yield. As usual with regard to retiring ministers, all three of them were created secretaries of state and privy-councillors, to which honorary designation a salary of 20,000 francs was attached.

Thus was the Martignac administration launched into existence on the 4th of January 1828, a perfect enigma to the public, and evidently designed by Villele to fill the temporary void until circumstances were favourable for his own resumption of office.

CHAPTER XXI.

FORMATION OF THE MARTIGNAC MINISTRY—AFFAIRS OF GREECE AND TURKEY—RUSSIAN INVASION—DISMISSAL OF MARTIGNAC, AND FORMATION OF THE POLIGNAC MINISTRY—EXPEDITION TO ALGIERS—ORDINANCES OF JULY—REVOLUTION OF 1830—1828 TO 1830.

The first meeting of the new cabinet took place on the evening of the 4th of January. Except with Martignac, the king was not acquainted with any of the new ministers. He accosted all of them, however, very graciously, and addressed to each some winning expressions. But he rather surprised them when he spoke to them collectively. 'Gentlemen,' he said, 'it is proper I make it known to you that I part from M. de Villele with regret; opinion has been wrong with regard to him: his system was mine.' This declaration completely confounded them, and not one of them uttered a word, for they had an idea that if they had superseded Villele for any purpose at all, it was precisely to change his violent, rotten, and implacable system. The words of the king at the same time show how truly blind and infatuated a man he was—how totally incapable of appreciating the march of events. But it was necessary for Martignac to be ready with some programme for the opening of the Chambers, fixed to take place on the 5th of February, although the complexion of the new Chamber of Deputies was so doubtful, that it could not be predicated with any certainty what precise policy might be best adapted to knit together a compact majority. Accordingly the speech from the throne was vague and general in its language, and contained little more definite than the usual eulogy on the Charter—which, from frequent repetitions, was becoming somewhat stale and threadbare.

After the wretched experiment of Villele, and its equally wretched failure, it is undoubted that nothing but a government, strong in influence and character, could have saved the monarchy of the Restoration from destruction, or the monarch himself from the effects of his own egregious caducity; and such a government that selfish and unprincipled minister had taken especial care to ignore. The one that he had set up was, on the contrary, the weakest that could be imagined, having no real support either in the Chambers or in the confidence of the king. It was in the dilemma of having to fashion its principles and its policy accord-

ing to the shifting exigencies of expediency. The country having decided so emphatically against Villele, it was natural that the new ministry should seek to dissociate itself from his system; but what other was it to adopt?—ultra-Royalism or Liberalism? for such were the two shades most strongly defined in the Chamber. It sought to trim between the two, inclining, from the force of circumstances, to the Liberal side, but ever dependent on the leaders of different fractions for support to its measures. The left and the extreme-left as yet acted in concert, not forming an absolute majority of the Chamber; and if the minister could combine with them a portion of the centre-right, constituting the moderate Royalists, he might contrive to carry on the government. Such was the course he adopted, for the Liberals were at the moment inclined to favour an approximation of this nature, since they knew all the difficulties surrounding the ministry from the secret hostility of the court. Consequently, by such a combination Royer-Collard, who had been returned by no less than seven electoral colleges, was elected president of the Chamber, such a nomination marking expressively the prevailing tone of its constitution. But if the ministry reposed on no large and distinctive basis, neither was it regarded with animosity, nor did it excite that virulence of opposition which had been displayed towards Villele. It passed through the ordeal of the session in comparative quietude, the only measures that were passed of any importance being a law for the prevention of frauds in the preparation of the electoral lists, and for their annual revision and publication; and another for the regulation of the press, which was the most liberal that had been yet adopted, as it abolished the censorship altogether, as well as the right of suspension by the courts of justice, and permitted the establishment of new journals without a previous license, upon the deposit of caution-money, and the registration of responsible editors. This law broke in upon the monopoly which had been hitherto possessed by the existing journals, and which rendered them such a very valuable property; investing them, moreover, with the importance of actual powers in the State. A considerable part of the session was consumed in investigations into the conduct of the prefects during the late elections, which resulted in a complete exposure of their oppressive and fraudulent practices. The dismissal of these guilty functionaries was urgently demanded by the Liberal party, but as strenuously resisted by the king, who was encouraged in his opposition by all the arts of court intrigue. Martignac was obliged to compromise the point: a great many prefects were displaced, but in some instances they were merely removed to other departments, and the remainder were provided with equivalent appointments, greatly to the indignation of incensed and ardent reformers.

It is the inevitable fate of all ministries which exist by sufferance, that they must make concessions to conciliate adversaries; but in so doing, they expose themselves to accusations which always operate injuriously against them. On all sides the Royalists took the alarm, and exclaimed against the *concessions* of M. de Martignac, which they pronounced to be pregnant with ruin to the monarchy, and leading assuredly to revolution. It was more particularly with regard to ecclesiastical affairs and to the Jesuits that the measures of the ministry exasperated them. The department of public instruction was separated from that of religion, the university was purified from priestly inquisition, and the Jesuit seminaries were dissolved, as the public voice so loudly demanded, and by which those emissaries of Rome were obliged to remove their establishments beyond the Pyrenees or over the frontiers of Switzerland. It was not without much difficulty that the king was brought to sanction these measures, and he did so undoubtedly with the secret intention of undoing them as early as possible. In fact, the moment he found that the tendency of his new cabinet was decidedly liberal, he began to plot against it, although he did so with great address and dissimulation. In the interior of the palace all was hostile to it, and an action incessantly in movement for its overthrow, which fortified the mind of the king in his repugnance. Yet to Martignac personally he was always gracious, and apparently confiding, evincing almost attachment to him during a tour he made in the autumn of 1828 through Alsace and the provinces on the Rhine. The minister was the more easily led into a false assurance by the idea he entertained of his own powers of ingratiation, which were very remarkable certainly, but to which men are too often prone to ascribe an undue importance. Charles X. could easily resist seductions of that nature when not enhanced by sympathetic principles; whilst, on the other hand, with all his abhorrence of vulgarity, he tolerated around him for so many years such men as Villele and Corbiere, whose manners were the very reverse of delicate, refined, or dignified.

The first blow aimed at the Martignac ministry was an attempt to force on it Prince Jules de Polignac as minister of foreign affairs. This personage, who was so soon to attain a fatal celebrity, had been for some time ambassador at London, and had long enjoyed the intimate friendship of Charles X. La Ferronnays was anxious to leave the cabinet, with which he was not altogether in harmony, and opportunely fell ill, whereby it became necessary to provide him a successor. Several names were mentioned to the king, and among others that of Chateaubriand; but he found reasons for rejecting them all, and at length Portalis was charged with the office *ad interim*. Him Charles commanded to summon the prince to Paris; and without consulting his col-

leagues, Portalis obeyed. The sudden arrival of Polignac caused the greatest surprise and excitement, as it was known that the king had long desired to have him in the administration; and Villele, who was jealous of his influence, had with difficulty struggled to counteract this inclination. However, the cabinet was not thus to be taken by storm, and the whole of the ministers tendered their resignations rather than accept Polignac as a colleague. Matters were not yet sufficiently ripe to dispense with them; and the king, disconcerted and mortified, felt constrained to send Polignac back to London, whither he returned with a very downcast countenance, since he had most imprudently boasted before his departure of his instant appointment to the ministry of foreign affairs.

The desire of the king to discard his present counsellors was raised in intensity by the change that had recently taken place in the English government. Canning, after a short premiership, had died in August 1827, and been succeeded by a feeble administration under Lord Goderich, which gave place in January 1828 to one of a stronger texture under the Duke of Wellington. This was a return of the pure Tories to power, materially modulated no doubt, but still regarded as personifying a retrogression towards the school of Castlereagh and Sidmouth. The example seemed one precisely fitted for the present condition of things in France, as the Goderich ministry might be compared with the Martignac, and the advent of Wellington gave promise of that firm resistance to popular demands in which the court of the Tuileries thought the essence of government lay. In reality there was scarcely any analogy between the cases of the two countries, for the spirit of their respective institutions was so fundamentally opposite, that no relation could exist in their domestic political occurrences. Notwithstanding his long residence in the country, Charles X. had a very confused notion of the British Constitution, sharing the profound ignorance of England common with Frenchmen; and fully believing that Wellington would establish a virtual approach to despotism in the British islands, he deemed it the more incumbent on him to make haste and essay a like experiment.

In the execution of his scheme the old king displayed a dexterity and duplicity which were scarcely natural to him. Serious embarrassments might be entailed by an abrupt dismissal of the ministry, and the very object of the measure be defeated by its prematurity. It was expedient that Martignac and his colleagues should be instrumental to their own extinction, in order to derive from that consummation all the advantages anticipated. They fell very easily into the snare extended for them. The great project of the session of 1829 was intended to be a bill for municipal reform, divided into two measures—one rela-

tive to communes rural and urban, the other to departments. These were framed upon a basis of local participation, instituting councils elected by voters possessing a certain qualification, presided over in the communes by mayors appointed by the king, and in the departments by the mayor of the chief town. The project was in substance much the same as had often been demanded by the Royalists, but they were now averse to it, coming from a hostile quarter, and when their chance of monopolising the local administrations was but small. Nevertheless Charles X. affected a warm interest for its success, and his ministers having proposed to present only one of the bills during this session, he strongly urged them to introduce both, trusting that in the greater complication of the discussion some incident might arise to compromise the ministry. Charmed beyond measure by this zeal and solicitude on the part of the king, Martignac readily consented to adopt his advice, congratulating himself on the manifest hold he had gained over the royal mind.

It is not to be supposed that in the conception and management of this intrigue Charles X. acted only from his own inspirations. He held secret conferences with Villele and Labourdonnaye, who had become reconciled, and other chiefs of the Royalist fractions, with whom the whole plan of proceeding was prearranged. Martignac drew upon himself universal applause by his eloquent and masterly exposition on introducing his municipal measure to the Chamber of Deputies. He was a graceful, animated, and perspicuous speaker, whom his enemies themselves were compelled to admire. The projects being, as usual, referred to committees, in them the plot began to be developed. The Royalists declared they would not oppose the ministerial scheme, from deference to the king, but they would not support it or take any part in the debate. By this declaration it was sufficiently made known to the left and centre-left that its fate was entirely in their hands, and that they could do with it what they pleased. This temptation, as had been foreseen, was too strong for the Liberals to resist, and they determined to make sundry amendments in the measure, particularly to enlarge the basis of qualification, and to take from the king the appointment of the mayors. Martignac opposed these amendments, and at a cabinet council it was unanimously resolved that if any of them were carried, the project should be withdrawn. The king greatly applauded this resolution, and complimented his ministers on their firmness in withstanding the assaults of democracy. The left paid no regard to a threat of this kind, deeming that it was sufficiently strong to force a ministry of its own 'colour' on the king; and a first amendment, proposed by General Sebastiani, was adopted in the Chamber. Martignac and Portalis immediately waited on the king to obtain an ordinance for the withdrawal of the measure. He signed it

with alacrity, and warmly pressing the hands of the two ministers, thanked them for their determination. He had attained the object at which he aimed: it was shown incontestably that the ministry had no majority in the Chamber, and was unable to carry its measures, even those of a liberal and beneficial character. He could not be blamed for dismissing a ministry which had not the confidence of the representatives of the people.

He played his part with inimitable strategy this gray-bearded monarch, little thinking that, whilst plotting against Martignac, he was in reality plotting against himself! But shortsighted are the ways of men, and especially in deeds of darkness and perfidy do they surely outwit themselves. The ordinance of withdrawal was dated the 8th of April, and thenceforth little remained for discussion in the Chambers but the budget for the year. This it was of essential moment should be voted before the designs of the king were fully manifested; and whilst feigning to share all the indignation of Martignac and his colleagues, he still urged them to push the budget through the refractory Chamber. The items, as usual, gave rise to long and acrimonious debates, but they were at length passed with insignificant modifications, and on the 4th of August the whole budget was finally voted. Polignac had been again secretly summoned from London; and all the arrangements having been made, Charles abruptly communicated to Portalis, on the evening of the 6th, that he had formed a new ministry, giving him to understand at the same time that he had a very bad opinion of the one he thus dismissed. He repeated angrily that he had been induced to grant concessions which had only led to the demand of fresh ones; and with regard to Portalis himself personally, he expressed such dissatisfaction, that he refused to fulfil a promise he had made to give him the presidency of the Court of Cassation.* The disgraced minister retired from the presence overwhelmed with amazement and confusion; he hastened to his colleagues Martignac and Hyde de Neuville, to whom the announcement was as the fall of a thunderbolt, for never had they deemed themselves more high or secure in the royal confidence.

Such was the singular history of the fall of the Martignac ministry, which attempted to conduct the government of Charles X. in the spirit of the Charter, and according to the rules of parliamentary usage. It was his utter misconception of these rules that so egregiously misled this unfortunate king; he could never be made to understand that it was the duty of a constitutional prince to form his government in harmony with the majority of

* Charles was subsequently induced to revoke this refusal, and the Baron Portalis was appointed first president of the Court of Cassation. Pensions of 12,000 francs each were likewise granted to Martignac, Hyde de Neuville, De Caux, St Cricq, and Vatimesnil.

the legislature; he deemed, on the contrary, that that majority should bend to his nomination, and meekly obtemperate his conditions, otherwise he could at all times resume the supreme authority inherent in the crown, and which his brother had temporarily thought fit to waive. At the same time he was not solicitous of provoking an actual collision of powers; and in his long contemplation of the Polignac ministry, he had sundry calculations submitted to him, in which it was shown that by a combination of all the Royalist 'colours' among the deputies a majority might be obtained. It was with this hope or persuasion that he broke the Martignac ministry, not reflecting that he thereby quarrelled with an important section of the Royalists themselves, with all, in short, who adhered to the fortunes of the disgraced ministers. As for these latter, they were in a false position from the first, and could never by any endeavours redeem their original incongruity. Nothing is so invariably unsuccessful as the painful effort to satisfy two antagonist parties animated with a bitter hatred of each other. Thus whilst seeking to win the Liberals by his legislative concessions, Martignac was still intent to keep on terms with the court and the religious party, and his administration was disfigured by as many prosecutions of the press as any of the preceding. Under him Béranger was again imprisoned; and as if to exhibit priestly intolerance in the most revolting light, the editor of the '*Courier Français*' was punished by fine and imprisonment for a critique on Gerard's picture of the 'Coronation,' in which it was incidentally said that the divine figures of Raphael would exist as masterpieces of art, even should the Christian faith itself perish from the earth; an expression held to denote and throw a doubt on the eternity of the Christian religion.*

Such prosecutions derived a more unsavoury character from the numerous disclosures that were made from time to time of scandalous practices among the clergy and others pretending to an exalted piety. No less than four or five priests were convicted of disgusting assaults on little children, and of infanticide, and condemned to the galleys; sentences which the government was constrained to carry into effect, notwithstanding all the exertions of the religious party, headed by the Duchess d'Angoulême, first to screen them, and subsequently to procure their liberation. Whilst the public indignation was rife at these abominable revelations, the atrocious delinquencies of Count Mallarme transpired. This man was a director-general in the post-office, and had been in the constant habit of abstracting money from letters passing through his department. He was advanced in years, and remark-

* This preposterous decision was reversed on appeal by the judges of the royal court of the Seine, who thereby regained the popularity they had for some time lost by their judgments against the press; but they provoked in an equal degree the animadversions of the Royalists, and especially of the king himself.

able for a piety which had gained him the patronage of the Jesuits, who laboured strenuously to shield him from punishment. But he was condemned upon his own confession, made with a hypocritical observance which magnified the enormity of his crime, and sentenced to seven years' incarceration and exposure on the pillory : a rigorous sentence, which was put as rigorously in execution. Unhappy occurrences of this description tend to shake the confidence of populations in the virtue of those vested with authority, and induce them to regard with aversion the rulers whom they are called upon to obey in the name of morality and religion.

The relations of France with foreign powers had continued unchanged during the ministry of Martignac, although the union with England was very far from being so close and complete as under Villele. In the affairs of Greece, it had been arranged that a French expedition should be sent to the Morea to expel the Egyptian troops under Ibrahim Pasha, and put an end to the hostilities still prevailing. The British government viewed this expedition with considerable jealousy ; and to obviate its necessity, Admiral Codrington concluded a convention with Mehemet Ali, pasha of Egypt, at Alexandria on the 6th August 1828, by which the latter agreed to withdraw his troops under his son Ibrahim from the Morea. But the French government was as eager to send the expedition as the British to prevent it, and the greatest exertions were made to despatch it before any evacuation took place. General Maison was appointed to command the French troops ; and he issued a proclamation to the soldiers, in which he reminded them that it was six centuries ago since the flag of France had appeared on the shores of Greece as a banner of liberation. The expedition arrived in the Bay of Navarino on the 29th of August, and although General Maison was apprised of the convention of Alexandria, he persisted, nevertheless, in landing his forces. A negotiation was entered into with Ibrahim, which resulted in his acceding to the convention of his father, and agreeing to evacuate the Morea in the course of September. The Turkish soldiers were not included in this capitulation, and with characteristic obstinacy they refused to yield the few forts they held, which the French were consequently obliged to take by storm. Thus Greece was definitively delivered from her Moslem lords by the forcible intervention of Russia, England, and France, whom their mutual jealousies bound in this singular compact for the enfranchisement of a people interesting from the glories of antiquity, and for the dismemberment of an empire which two of them at least professed to regard as necessary to the balance of power in Europe.

The course of policy pursued by France and England in this liberation of Greece was imposed upon them independently of those high political considerations which might have otherwise

weighed with them and deterred them from weakening Turkey in her capacity of resistance to Russia. The public feeling in both countries, aroused by Christians struggling for freedom against infidel oppressors, by the immortal verses of 'Childe Harold,' by the heroic devotion of their illustrious author, the renowned Byron, in their holy cause, was so strong, that it could scarcely be resisted, or at least afforded an excellent pretext for the two governments to exercise that interference in the affairs of other countries which distinguishes their recent history. Besides, they were anxious to prevent the sole action of Russia, whose influence in Greece was naturally predominant, from her traditional enmity to Turkey, from her identity of religion, and, above all, from her late minister, Capo d'Istria, having been elected president of the new government. It was with the view, therefore, of averting the dangers of a fresh war between Russia and Turkey that Canning had been first incited to propose a joint intervention; and after all, these dangers occurred in a most aggravated form. The anger of the Ottoman court was necessarily excessive; and after the destruction of its fleet at Navarino, it refused to listen to any counsels of moderation or prudence. It certainly had a good cause of war against Russia, however serious the question might be of provoking it; and having such cause, it recklessly violated the stipulations of the treaty of Bucharest concluded in 1812, publishing a proclamation at the same time, inviting all true Mussulmen to take up arms and fly to the standard of the Prophet. These provocations led to a declaration of war by the Emperor Nicholas on the 14th of April 1828, which occasioned the liveliest apprehensions in the cabinets of both England and France. La Ferronays, the minister of foreign affairs, immediately demanded a large augmentation of the French army and navy, which was agreed to by the rest of the ministers; and as all warlike propositions are generally popular in France, the Chambers, without the least demur, authorised a loan of 80,000,000 francs, to be raised by an issue of 4,000,000 of *rentes*, at the rate of 4 per cent. But the result of the first operations by the Russian army proving much less successful than had been expected, the fears of its complete subjugation of Turkey began to subside, and the inglorious bivouac behind the Balkan in the winter of 1828 was looked upon with satisfaction by western politicians. In 1829, however, the Russians made amends for their previous blunders and delays, and crossing the Balkan in July, advanced rapidly to Adrianople, which city they entered on the 20th of August, the Turks retiring in disorder before them. Now seemed about to be fulfilled that cherished design of Catharine, that long-hoarded ambition of Russia, which contemplated the cross of Ivan superseding the crescent of the Prophet on the spire of St Sophia. The Ottoman power was crushed, and lay helplessly at the mercy

of its inveterate foe. There was none to assist it, or to avert from ruin the descendant of those warrior sultans who had once held all Europe in awe. It is true that the representatives of Austria, England, and France interfered to prevent the further progress of the Russian army; but there was no material barrier to oppose it, or save the capital from capture; and once in possession of Russia, Constantinople could be scarcely wrested out of her hands again if she resolved to keep it. In this conjuncture, with so rich a prize within his grasp, it must be confessed that Nicholas manifested an exemplary moderation, and an honourable regard to the promises he had made on undertaking the war. In the treaty of Adrianople, concluded on the 2d of September 1829, he granted peace to Turkey on terms which might be considered liberal under the circumstances, although no doubt he obtained immense advantages, particularly in the acquisition of the islands at the mouth of the Danube, which gave him the command of the navigation of that river. The demonstration of the utter decay of the Ottoman might was the matter of most serious concern to Europe, and although a final catastrophe was for the moment averted, the dread of it has never since ceased to torment the dreams of anxious statesmen.

The affairs of Portugal had again become embroiled through the astounding perfidy of Don Miguel. Upon his own earnest supplication and solemn pledge to observe the Charter granted by Pedro, the latter had appointed him regent of the kingdom for his daughter Donna Maria, whose hand he likewise promised him on her attaining a proper age. Under this authority Miguel assumed the regency, first taking an oath to observe the Charter; and by his plausible assurances he so imposed upon the British government, that it withdrew all the troops it had landed in Portugal, and left him in undisputed possession of the country. He forthwith threw off the mask he had so cunningly worn, and with the apparent consent of three-fourths of the Portuguese, who displayed no wish for constitutional liberty, and were animated with a deep hatred of England, whose continual interference in their domestic concerns they very naturally resented, he took upon himself the title of king on the 30th of June 1828, and restored the ancient constitution of the monarchy as it had ever existed under the House of Braganza. On the 5th of July all the foreign ambassadors, except those of Spain, the Pope, and the United States, quitted Lisbon; and on the 28th of September, shortly after her arrival from the Brazils, the infant queen was received in the palace of Windsor by George IV., who thus recognised her as the legitimate occupant of the throne. Hence in both parts of the Peninsula the reign of absolutism and the Inquisition was established—in Spain, through the instrumentality of France; in Portugal, despite the efforts of the British, and in derogation of faith religiously

plighted to them. The latter country henceforth became the scene of a sanguinary civil war, and for many years remained a source of trouble and disquietude to the powers of western Europe.

During the long period of his duplicity towards the Martignac administration, there is no doubt that Charles X. had revolved in his mind the possibility of abrogating the Charter; and on the occasion of the municipal bill, to which he gave a reluctant assent, he had let fall the ominous words: 'Well, after all, we can always fall back on the 14th Article.' The ministers knew perfectly well what he meant, and regarded each other with significant looks. This 14th Article was that strange provision in the Charter which reserved the right to the king 'of making all the regulations and ordinances necessary for the execution of the laws and *the safety of the State*.' In the vagueness of this phrase, almost any latitude of interpretation might be given to the right thus reserved; and casuists were not wanting to assure Charles that he was not debarred by any of the oaths he had taken to observe the Charter from altering or annulling it, if he conceived the safety of the State required him so to do. It was therefore distinctly with a view to an extreme measure of this sort, in case the necessity for adopting it should arrive, that he formed the Polignac ministry, and yet it was a ministry most poorly adapted for accomplishing such a purpose. The Prince de Polignac himself was a man of no weight, and little character, beyond an inordinate conceit of his own capacity; he yielded a blind submission to the wishes of the king, and this perhaps was his chief recommendation; for Charles had conceived a strong desire for governing as well as reigning, according to an expression that came afterwards into vogue. The colleagues that were given him—for he had little to do with their selection—by no means made amends, through their abilities or reputations, for his deficiencies. Charles had given Labourdonnaye credit for a firmness and talent he was far from possessing; the spirit and bitterness with which he had opposed Villele tended to impress the king with an erroneous idea of his character, which was in reality destitute of those mere vulgar qualities that might be supposed to belong to a bold and impassioned speaker. Him, however, Charles appointed minister of the interior, although he had no previous relations with Polignac, nor was actually on good terms with him. Courvoisier, procureur-general in the royal court of Lyons, was made keeper of the seals; General Bourmont, so detested for his double treason and his evidence against Marshal Ney, received the portfolio of war, the dauphin continuing to hold the office of commander-in-chief of the army, and to fill up nominations in its ranks: M. d'Haussez was appointed to the marine department; M. de Montbel to that of ecclesiastical affairs and public instruc-

tion; M. de Chabrol to that of finance. Montbel was the representative of Villele, who was not himself taken into the cabinet, as likely to prevent the desired union among the Royalists, as well as to cause embarrassment by his domineering temper. Polignac only filled the post of minister of foreign affairs, there being no president of the council at that time nominated. Such were the weak and disjointed materials of which Charles X. composed the ministry, by whose aid he hoped to crush the opposition of the Chambers, and if he failed in that, to annihilate the national legislature.

Never was a ministry received with a more universal outburst of reprobation than this unfortunate one of the Prince de Polignac. The danger it implied to the liberties of the country was well understood, and it awakened a mingled feeling of dread and animosity, that sought expression in the most menacing forms. Associations were formed in various parts of the kingdom to resist the collection of taxes, in which almost entire populations were enrolled, both men and women, and large sums of money were subscribed to indemnify the individuals who should suffer from such resistance. The press sounded the battle-cry with an indescribable fury, and several fresh journals started into existence, as is ever the case in times of high excitement. Among these the '*National*' soon distinguished itself for the vigour and audacity of its articles; it was under the editorship of M. Thiers, who had drawn upon himself public attention by a popular history of the Revolution, and had been long attached as a leading contributor to the '*Constitutionnel*.' Even among the Royalists dissatisfaction was manifested, and Chateaubriand threw up indignantly his embassy at the court of Rome. The society of the *Aide-toi* greatly extended its ramifications, and matured all its preparations for entering on an electoral struggle at the shortest notice. All differences of opinion were merged among the Liberals, and they formed a united body, bound by the one sufficient principle of resistance to the ministry. On the other hand, the '*Quotidienne*' and the '*Gazette de France*'—papers in the interest of the ultra-Royalists and the Jesuits—were filled with eulogiums on the ministers of the king, and with denunciations against their opponents, whom they reviled with the foulest opprobrium. The bishops issued pastoral addresses, in which they declared their high approbation of the men called to the counsels of the king, and they anathematized those who assailed them as the enemies of both the monarchy and of Christianity. But the maledictions of these ecclesiastics had little effect upon the bulk of the population; and so unequivocal were the symptoms of hatred and disaffection towards the government, that Charles abandoned a design he had entertained of making a tour through the northern provinces of the kingdom, Normandy and Brittany,

where he had hoped to rekindle the chivalric loyalty of past times. And whilst constrained to adopt this mortifying resolution, he had the additional pain of witnessing the triumphal progress of Lafayette through the provinces of the south, where he was received with enthusiasm by immense multitudes, and presented by deputations from the principal cities with crowns of oak and laurel. At Clermont, Grenoble, Puy, Vizille, and especially at Lyons, the second city of the kingdom, these demonstrations bore an ominous character towards the monarchy of the Bourbons; the travelling patriot was entertained at feasts, the young men formed guards of honour to attend him, and everywhere he was hailed with acclamations as the tried apostle of liberty, the assured friend of the French people.

To these hostile and threatening indications, however, Polignac evinced a profound indifference; and whilst the portents of the storm were gathering deeper and deeper, he was busied in a petty intrigue to rid himself of Labourdonnaye, who was of a temperament perfectly incompatible with his own. The old leader of the counter-opposition was full of parliamentary saws and experiences, whereas Polignac was quite unacquainted with parliamentary habits, and held them in contempt. The former, moreover, refused to acknowledge any superiority in the prince over the other members of the cabinet, and the latter accordingly resolved to claim the presidency of the council, in order that he might be recognised as the undoubted premier. The king was quite willing to gratify his wish, although Labourdonnaye expressly declared that if such a nomination were made he would immediately retire. This did not prevent Polignac, however, from insisting; and on the 17th of November the ordinance appointing him president of the council was signed, which involved of course the resignation of Labourdonnaye. He was succeeded in the ministry of the interior by Montbel, who surrendered his own place to Guernon de Ranville, a lawyer of some celebrity. Thus within three months the ministry was remodelled, and the only man who had any reputation as a party-leader and debater in the Chambers was discarded.

This sudden dislocation of a cabinet formed to strike the great blow of counter-revolution, indicated sufficiently the rashness and folly with which it had been constituted; but the public was disposed to regard it in another and even more unfavourable light. It is an article of popular faith among the French, which can always be worked with advantage by designing factions, that no misfortune can happen to France without some sinister action on the part of England. Thus, as Polignac had filled the embassy to London, it was easy to represent that he was a tool of Wellington, and placed by him at the head of affairs in France to establish in it a despotism such as he himself designed for England.

This was a standing theme of invective in all the liberal papers, although their conductors were well aware of the utter falseness of the charge, and that, in reality, Wellington had made the largest stride towards Liberalism by carrying through parliament the emancipation of the Catholics, who had, up to the year 1829, remained a proscribed and persecuted class in Great Britain and Ireland. This continual recourse to 'lying and slandering' by the French press whenever it has enjoyed intervals of liberty, renders less to be condemned those fetters in which successive governments of every grade have felt constrained to bind it; for upon an ignorant and excitable population the effects are undoubtedly lamentable and dangerous. With regard to the appointment of Polignac as prime-minister of France, in one sense it might be agreeable to the British government, as it promised the chance of a more independent policy than La Ferronnays had exhibited towards Russia; whilst, on the other hand, Wellington foreboded it might lead to a rupture of domestic tranquillity in France, which, in common with the other statesmen of Europe, he contemplated with deep alarm.

In the meantime Charles X., wrapped in a blissful unconsciousness of the precipice on which he stood, assumed a lofty and imperious demeanour towards all who seemed disposed to thwart his will. On the 1st of January 1830, when addresses of congratulation were presented to him by the public bodies, he returned answers remarkable for the firmness and menacing tone of their language. As if intent to play the part of Napoleon in intimidating those who displeased him, he administered a severe rebuke to the judges of the royal court for having reversed certain decisions against the editors of newspapers, convicted by the inferior court of the correctional police. These judges had addressed him in that hollow and extravagant phraseology which was usual at the time, assuring him that the happiness of all Frenchmen was placed in the love and affection they bore for their monarch, and that their trust in his grace and goodness was the sweetest solace of their existence. This sycophantic language, however, failed to pacify the king, who with great sternness of manner thus replied to them: 'Magistrates of the royal court,' he said, 'never forget the important duties you have to discharge. Take care and prove, for the true welfare of my subjects, that you seek to render yourselves worthy of the marks of confidence you have received from your king.' Nothing could be more unseemly than such an exhortation applied to judges in the actual administration of the law, since, if it were not a direct menace against them, it was clearly a censure upon the exercise of their functions, and an unwarrantable interference with the course of justice. The Duchess d'Angouleme took the opportunity to manifest her anger in a

still more revolting manner. When the judges approached her to offer their congratulations, she exclaimed in the harsh and bitter tone peculiar to her, 'Pass on, gentlemen.' The judges did pass on; and whether they would have exposed themselves to the risk of another such insult on a future New-Year's Day was a question which, by the course of events, they were happily not called upon to decide.

Thus amidst an unexampled agitation and ferment, the court strove rather to increase the excitement and irritation than to allay it. Charles X. would seem to have fully made up his mind that if he could not reign as an absolute prince, he would prefer not to reign at all. Yet as the time approached when he must meet the Chambers, and commence that conflict which was to decide the fate of the monarchy, he could not but feel certain qualms of anxiety and apprehension which disturbed his serenity. The consciences of kings, however, are rarely very tender, or at least they are easily blunted to remorse by convenient pretexts of duty; and the more the old king was determined to violate the Charter, the more earnest he became in his devotions, as if he sought to invoke upon his enterprise the benediction of Heaven. The 2d of March was the day fixed for opening the legislative session, and on the day preceding, Charles attended a solemn mass in the cathedral of Nôtre-Dame. It was strange that such a place should be made the scene of a political colloquy between the priest and the penitent; yet so it was. The great drama of the morrow was present to all minds; and the Archbishop of Paris in allusion to it said, in concluding an address directed to the king, 'Sire, our prayers will be granted; for the Holy Spirit has assured us in the divine Scriptures that the king who trusts in God, and relies on His infinite mercy, will never be cast down.' Charles replied, 'The sentiments you have expressed go straight to my heart. I have the firm assurance that all my faithful subjects partake them, and that Heaven will pour upon them its blessings, as I desire from the bottom of my heart.' On his way to and from the church not a single cheer was heard to greet him as he passed, and he might at leisure recall the famous saying of Mirabeau—

‘The silence of nations is the monitor of kings.’

In the speech he delivered from the throne he left no doubt as to the intentions he had deliberately formed. After referring to sundry foreign and domestic matters, he thus wound up his oration:—‘The first wish of my heart,’ he said, ‘is to see France happy and respected, developing all the riches of her soil and industry, and enjoying in tranquillity institutions the benefits of which it is my purpose to consolidate. The Charter has placed the public liberties under the safeguard of the rights of my

crown; these rights are sacred; my duty towards my people is to transmit them intact to my successors. Peers of France, and deputies of the departments, I do not doubt your co-operation in effecting the good that I propose to do. You will reject with scorn the perfidious insinuations malevolence may seek to propagate. If culpable manœuvres raise up obstacles to my government, which I neither can nor wish to foresee, I will find strength to surmount them in my resolution to maintain the public peace, in the just confidence of the French, and in the love they have always shown for their kings.' The king gave utterance to these words with force and emphasis; his noble figure and dignified aspect lent additional expression to them; and if the royal discourse failed to elicit any but faint acclamations, it produced on the minds of the majority an indescribable sensation and awe.

At the instigation of this very prince, nearly half a century earlier, Louis XVI. had made a speech of a very similar tenor to the States-General at Versailles. After all the vicissitudes of the Revolution, then, the question was still the same as at the commencement—wherein lay the constituent power? who was the real sovereign? and in the present instance the further question arose to entangle the solution, whether, if the king possessed any supreme rights, he was not debarred by the acts of his predecessor and by his own oaths from exercising them? The Revolution, therefore, and all the principles it had established, were at issue; the divine right of kings was once more to be the watchword of a bloody struggle. Was the Chamber of Deputies to yield this fundamental point, and with it all the liberties of the nation? From the decisive tone of the royal speech it could not take a middle course; it must either resist or succumb. As could not be for a moment doubted, it adopted the first alternative, and prepared to retort with an address of defiance. Amongst its majority, or ranged in support of it, was almost every man of talent and enlightenment in France: and who were on the other side? Decayed nobles, servile courtiers, priests, women, and Jesuits. The result of the contest could scarcely be doubtful.

It was not until the 18th. of March that the address of the Chamber was finally voted and presented to the king in the grand saloon of the Tuileries. Royer-Collard, the president, appeared at the head of the deputation, and read the significant but moderate protest in a grave but tremulous voice.

'Sire,' he said, 'the Charter which we owe to the wisdom of your predecessor, and the benefits of which your majesty has the firm intention to consolidate, consecrates as a right the intervention of the country in the deliberation of the public interests. This intervention ought to be, and is, in fact, indirect, discreetly measured, circumscribed in limits exactly traced, and which we should not allow to be daringly infringed; but yet it is positive in

its result, for it renders the permanent co-operation between the political views of your government and the views of your people the indispensable condition of the regular progress of public affairs. Sire, our loyalty, our attachment, condemn us to tell you that *this co-operation does not exist.*'

The expressions used were somewhat circuitous, but their meaning was sufficiently distinct. The address was in truth *Doctrinaire*, and was in a great measure the handiwork of Guizot, who had been elected to the Chamber for the first time in January of 1830. It was framed to enunciate in guarded, but intelligible language, the doctrine of parliamentary control over the acts of the crown; and the phraseology was purposely modulated to attract as many votes as possible, since its gravity and importance materially depended upon the strength of the majority by which it was carried. In this respect its authors had all the success they desired, for it was voted by 221 voices to 181 in a house of 402 members. But neither the studied moderation of its terms, nor the force of the majority by which it had been adopted, weighed in the least with the king, or had the smallest effect in inducing him to lower his tone of command and menace. Looking sternly on Royer-Collard, who was seriously discomposed, he thus spoke to him:—'Sir,' he said, 'I have heard the address which you present to me in the name of the Chamber of Deputies. I had a right to rely upon the co-operation of the two Chambers to accomplish all the good I meditate. My heart is afflicted to hear the deputies of the departments declare that on their part such co-operation does not exist. Gentlemen, I have announced my resolutions in my speech at the opening of the session. Those resolutions are *immutable*; the interest of my people prohibits me from departing from them. My ministers will make known to you my intentions.' Royer-Collard and the deputation retired, the president of the Chamber drawing a long breath as he emerged from the saloon, and exclaiming to those around him, 'I had not supposed there could be such force and majesty in the words of a king!'

On the following day an ordinance was issued proroguing the Chambers until the 1st of September. Some of the ministers were in favour of an immediate dissolution; but others of a more considerate hue, particularly Chabrol and Courvoisier, demurred to this extreme measure, and the intermediate measure of a prorogation was preferred. As soon as Monthel, the minister of the interior, had intimated the promulgation of the ordinance, Royer-Collard rose and declared the sitting terminated. The members left their seats, the Royalists emitting faint cries of *Vive le roi!* which were retorted by the Liberals with enthusiastic cries of *Vive la Charte!* Thus was the first act of the eventful drama closed.

By the prorogation of the Chambers the difficulty was postponed, not resolved. A respite was gained for consideration, and perhaps for negotiations such as might lead to a compromise of differences. In proportion as the hour drew near for determining on a decisive course, hesitation arose in the minds of the less daring and resolute among the ministers, who were, moreover, disconcerted by the numerous defections that began daily to increase among those hitherto ranked as undoubted Royalists. Hence it was agreed in the cabinet that overtures should be made to the leaders of the centre-left, who, forming the more moderate portion of the opposition, and known to be averse to drive matters to extremity, might be expected to entertain propositions based upon the principle of a fusion of parties. Courvoisier, who had formerly belonged to the centre-left, and still maintained relations with some of its principal members, undertook to initiate these advances; but he soon discovered that anything like an arrangement by which the government would be enabled to command a majority was altogether impossible. The opposition insisted naturally, as an indispensable preliminary, upon a change of measures and of men; and this was precisely what the king would not consent to yield. So rivetted now had his persuasions become, that he deemed such negotiations derogatory to his dignity; and he could be brought to admit only that they might be held to regulate the terms upon which the opposition should make its submission, and by a timely recantation, atone for its errors and deserve his condonation. In the false atmosphere he breathed not a ray of truth could penetrate; he was fully assured that everything depended upon his fiat, that all were breathlessly awaiting its notification, that he was perfectly master of the crisis, and by his sovereign will could decide whether France should retain or forfeit its franchises. In delaying to strike the blow, therefore, he conceived he was imposing a sacrifice upon himself, and condescending unnecessarily to afford refractory and misguided men an opportunity to save themselves from the chastisement he was prepared to inflict.

Yet with all his egregious fatuity, Charles was not destitute of instincts which taught him that he might strengthen his hands by accessories calculated to awaken among the French those ardent sentiments which in their delirium lead them to kiss the rod that smites, yet titillates them. The two instruments which he judged most conducive to this end were religion and war. With regard to the first he was at fault; touching the latter he inferred correctly. So far was he from supposing that the excess to which religious manifestations were carried operated prejudicially on the public, that he thought they could never be too much multiplied; that in the end the seeds of infidelity would be uprooted, yet germinating only through the licentious tirades of

the press; and that the population would be subdued to the hallowed piety upon which thrones repose in grateful security. With this view ceremonies and processions were redoubled at this period, and the Church taxed all its energies to arouse and keep alive among the people a wholesome spirit of devotion. A discovery had been made in Paris of the bones of St Vincent de Paul, which were stated to have been secretly preserved by the Sisters of Charity, though why they were not sooner brought to light was not explained. These the Archbishop of Paris seized upon with avidity, to make an imposing demonstration. The coffin in which they were deposited was opened with great solemnity in the cathedral of Nôtre-Dame; and being duly inspected, were declared by the archbishop and his assistants to be the veritable remains of the sainted philanthropist, although a record existed attesting that in 1729 Vintimille, the then Archbishop of Paris, had upon examination found the said remains a heap of dust. A grand procession was forthwith ordained, in which these holy relics should be carried to the Church of the Lazarists, where the saint had been originally buried; and it accordingly took place on the 25th of April. All the religious bodies of Paris and the surrounding districts assisted at this ceremony, which, since the displays of the Jubilee, was the most extensive and magnificent that had occurred. On the 1st of May the king, accompanied by the Duchesses of Angoulême and Berry, repaired in state to the convent of the Lazarists, and there, kneeling in adoration before the miraculous bones, they prayed fervently, to the edification of a large multitude of spectators. Having sufficiently besought the intercession of the canonised mortal through his grim remnants, the royal personages listened to a consolatory discourse from the archbishop; and then, regaining their carriages, returned with the same regal pomp to the palace of the Tuileries.

But these revivals of mediæval superstition, instead of kindling the fire of devotion among the inhabitants of Paris, tended rather to provoke their sarcasms and excite their indignation. To the sound of the drum and the roar of the cannon they were more accessible. With a proper appreciation of the French character, Louis XVIII. had consented to incur the dangers of the Spanish invasion, foreseeing that, if it were successful, such a military triumph would redound to the advantage of his dynasty, and that even its adversaries would be shamed into taciturnity, if not into approval. In like manner the expedition to the Morea, although wholly unnecessary, had been precipitated with the view of deriving effect from the empty echo of the French arms in the citadel of Corinth or the Parthenon of Athens. Upon a larger scale Polignac determined to take advantage of the national foible, and work it to the profit of the great design on foot to

extinguish the liberties of France. For nearly three years past a difference had existed between the French government and the Dey of Algiers, arising out of the French consul having provoked, by his insolent demeanour, the latter to strike him with his fan, and the port of Algiers had been blockaded to compel the Dey to give satisfaction. It was now resolved to send an expedition to reduce Algiers, although ample reparation had been in the meantime offered; and an army of 37,000 men was embarked at Toulon on board of ships of war and transports carrying 27,000 seamen, the land forces being under the command of General Bourmont, and the fleet under that of Admiral Duperré. The expedition sailed on the 16th of May, and the troops were landed on the 13th and 14th of June in the bay of Sidi-Ferruch. Several engagements took place between the Algerine forces and the French, in which the latter lost a great many men; but at length they succeeded in investing the place, and on the 5th of July it capitulated. The unfortunate Dey retired with a small part of his treasures and his harem to Naples; an immense booty, amounting to nearly 60,000,000 francs, fell into the possession of the captors. On the 11th a Te Deum was solemnised at Paris for this glorious success, and the archbishop apostrophised Charles X. with more than usual ardour on the occasion, urging that this was but the harbinger of far more important achievements to be by him accomplished under the guiding hand of Providence.

This expedition to Algiers had aroused the keenest jealousy on the part of the British government, and a very hot correspondence had ensued on the subject between Polignac and Lord Aberdeen, British minister for foreign affairs. Polignac assumed a peculiarly haughty tone in this correspondence, and refused to give any of those satisfactory assurances which were demanded from him on the part of Great Britain, particularly as to the ultimate designs of France touching the possession of Algiers. This unexpected defiance of England by Polignac arose out of the close relations which had been drawn between France and Russia through the instrumentality of Pozzo di Borgo, the minister of the latter power at Paris. These had commenced under La Ferronnays, and been cultivated with increased warmth by Polignac since his accession to office. It was of the greatest importance for Russia to gain the support of France during her war with Turkey; and the better to cajole her, Borgo had not hesitated to flatter her with the expectation of recovering the Rhine as her eastern boundary; a bait she easily swallowed, the more readily because in the Congress to be held for the new settlement of Europe consequent upon such a change England was not to be allowed to have a voice. Such an idea was eminently agreeable to French diplomatists, since they would thereby retaliate upon England the humiliating exclusion to which

France herself had been subjected after 1815. To this understanding, which was probably never sincere on the part of Russia, was owing in a great measure the confidence with which the Russian army was pushed on towards Constantinople in 1829, notwithstanding the sinister attitude of England and Austria, whose intervention, however, Nicholas thought fit to heed at the last moment. In return for having played her puppet at that critical period, Russia had not only agreed to acquiesce in the reduction of Algiers by France, but urged the enterprise upon her as one demanded by her dignity, and as reflecting upon her the highest honour, in extirpating a nest of pirates who had been so long the scourge of European commerce. That the undertaking might lead to a war between France and England was probable enough; but that was not an affair which Russia would be disposed to lament, since such an event would render her supreme arbiter of the much-vexed question of the East.

Thus at the culminating point of the history of the Restoration, in its last tottering days, it was intent upon an outward aggressive policy which must ere long have brought it into collision with one or more of the other great powers of Europe. This result was obviated by the catastrophe it was rapidly hastening to draw upon itself. On the 16th of May the Chamber of Deputies was dissolved, and the new elections ordered to be held in the arrondissements on the 25th of June, and in the departments on the 3d of July; the Chambers being convoked for the 3d of August. On the 19th of May, by another ordinance, Peyronnet, the former colleague of Villele, was appointed to be minister of the interior, Montbel accepting the ministry of finance, Chantelauze to be minister of justice and keeper of the seals, and Capelle to be minister of public works, a new department created for this special occasion. Chabrol and Courvoisier retired; and as they were known to be the advocates of a system of conciliation, their retreat was regarded as significant of the determination to resort to extreme measures of violence. The nomination of Peyronnet, in particular, was regarded with the liveliest apprehensions, and rumours of the most sinister import began forthwith to circulate. These acquired such consistency, and grew so alarming, as to attract the attention of the foreign ambassadors, who transmitted accounts of them to their different courts. The Emperor Nicholas and Prince Metternich returned instructions to remonstrate against any infringement of the Charter, for, as both concurred in saying, Europe had become bound in 1815 to uphold the Bourbons on the throne of France, but with the addition of the Charter; and if that were invaded, the stipulation was necessarily at an end. To these remonstrances Charles replied rather testily: 'You may write and say that there is not a word of truth in what is rumoured.'

Thus confident in himself, and indifferent to the warnings of his allies, Charles pursued the course upon which he was now fully bent. With the special view to influence the elections as much as possible, Peyronnet and Capelle had been taken into the administration, as both had been initiated under Villele into all the villanous practices applicable to such operations. In their result lay the last hope of averting a violent interference with the Charter; but no administrative influence could avail, however unscrupulously exercised, against the general spirit of opposition engendered in the country. In vain the old king appealed to the electors in a proclamation he addressed to them personally, in which he exhorted them to rally round him, and save the monarchy from Revolutionists. In vain the elections for twenty departments, in which the Liberals were supposed to be strongest, were postponed on the plea of numerous appeals depending in the royal courts as to the right of voters to be inscribed on the electoral lists. Of 417 members returned, 272 belonged to the opposition, and only 145 to the ministerial ranks. The victory of the Liberals was even more complete than in the last election: in the struggle he had provoked, Charles had been utterly worsted, and no resource remained for him now but in that dreaded alternative he had long contemplated, and which must lead to the abasement he spurned or the supremacy he coveted; not dreaming that therein might be involved the ruin of his dynasty.

Although it was well understood by the members of the cabinet that a *coup d'état* was to be hazarded in case the elections resulted adversely, much deliberation ensued among them touching the manner, and even the propriety, of striking it. On the 7th of July, however, the resolution was definitively taken in the presence of the king and the dauphin, although it was not until the 23d the entire plan of proceeding was arranged. In the interim the intelligence of the capture of Algiers gave to the king and ministers increased confidence; and assuredly that event caused an impression which might have been favourably wrought upon if judicious means had been used to improve it. An extraordinary joy was manifested at Paris, and the city was spontaneously illuminated; among the soldiers the feeling of exultation was irrepressible, and their redeemed fidelity to the Bourbons became more than ever confirmed. But soon the opposition journals threw a damp upon this general congratulation: they impeached the justice of the war, and ascribed it to the design of conquering through it the liberties of the country; moreover, who was the commander of the expedition? Bourmont, the betrayer and the murderer of Ney! Thus the blood of that revered warrior still stained the flag of the Bourbons, and was to be avenged in the extremity of their fortune. Still, a military triumph, and especially one known to be so obnoxious to England, was very grateful to the French,

and induced them, undoubtedly, to look with returning favour on the reigning dynasty; insomuch that if the meeting of the Chambers had been allowed, and anything like a factious opposition exhibited by the deputies, the government would have been so strengthened in moral weight, as probably to have accomplished with ease the object it had at heart. But if the counsels of prudence and moderation had been previously discarded, much more so were they now, when the flush of success overmastered the little remains of wisdom that yet survived.

To Chantelauze was intrusted the digestion of the report on which the ordinances agreed upon were to be founded. This report, signed by all the ministers, was certainly a very remarkable document; and as an act of accusation against the press, unparalleled for its force and verity. It is almost amusing to hear with what dolorous earnestness these servants of a powerful monarch bewail the deleterious influence of the press; descant upon its falsehoods, its perversions, its unceasing machinations to misrepresent the acts and motives of the government; denounce its suppressions as equally malevolent with its inventions; and conclude that, unless it be fettered in its licentiousness, no system of government was possible. No testimony could be more emphatic to the prodigious influence exercised by the journals, but with equal truth was exposed the flagitious spirit with which they were too often animated. In truth the periodical press had attained an importance in France which it has never reached in any other country; political reputations were gained through its columns far more certainly and speedily than by orations from the tribune, and the expression of Metternich was justified to the letter. 'If I were not prime-minister of Austria,' said that keen observer of things, 'I would be a journalist in Paris.' Through the journals men rose to be powers in the State; and in the subsequent changes that befell the government of France, the press asserted all the monopoly of direction which its omnipotence entitled it to claim.

On this report the four ordinances proceeded. The first suspended the liberty of the press, and prohibited the publication of any journal without a previous authorisation; the second dissolved the Chamber of Deputies; the third abolished the existing laws of election, and substituted in lieu the provisions of the Charter as originally granted by Louis XVIII.; the fourth appointed the days for the convocation of the electoral colleges and the meeting of the two Chambers. On the 24th of July the council assembled for the final discussion of these decrees. Guernon de Ranville was the only minister who raised any objection to them, simply on the ground that they were premature, and that the Chambers ought first to be allowed to meet. Baron d'Haussez, who rarely concerned himself about any affair out of his own department, in-

quired of Polignac how many soldiers he could rely upon in Paris. The prince, who filled the ministry of war *ad interim*, and whom Bourmont, on parting, had earnestly intreated not to attempt any serious blow before his return, replied that he had 42,000 soldiers ready; and unfolding a paper, he threw it across the table to the minister of marine. 'How!' exclaimed D'Haussez, 'I see here only 13,000 men—13,000 men on paper! That gives only 7000 or 8000 for fighting: where are the remaining 29,000!' Polignac assured him they were disposed in the environs of Paris, and could be brought within ten hours into the heart of the capital. With this assurance D'Haussez was fain to be contented, although both he and some of the other ministers had unpleasant misgivings on the subject.

At two in the afternoon of Sunday the 25th the council met at St Cloud. The king and the dauphin were both present. The ministers sat round a table in a large saloon hung with a variety of historical portraits. One by one Charles interrogated them touching the decisive step in agitation. D'Haussez adverted again to the deficiency of troops in Paris. 'Have you any objection to sign?' asked the king. 'Sire,' replied the minister, 'I crave permission to ask one question of your majesty. Are you decided upon this measure even should the ministers retire?' 'I am,' Charles rejoined in a firm tone. D'Haussez took up the pen and subscribed his name. When all had affixed their signatures, there was a solemn pause. Polignac alone was cheerful and radiant with joy. Charles X. rose and walked with a meditative, though satisfied air up and down the room. Observing D'Haussez examining the walls with a curious interest, he asked him what occasioned his singular scrutiny. 'Sire,' replied the minister of marine, 'I was only looking whether haply there was a portrait of Strafford hanging here.'

An impression more or less vague had long weighed upon the public mind that some violent measure was contemplated by the ministry; but so profoundly had the secret been kept, that the publication of the ordinances on the morning of the 26th fell like a thunderbolt on the capital. They appeared in the 'Moniteur;' but even thus authenticated, they were at first regarded with incredulity; afterwards, when doubt had vanished, a species of stupor succeeded, for people could scarce believe themselves awake. The first effort at resistance was made through the editors of the 'Constitutionnel,' who convoked a meeting of several other editors at the house of M. Dupin, their standing counsel. The meeting was attended by numerous lawyers besides—Mauguin, Odillon-Barrot, Merilhou, Barthe, Remusat—but on that very account nothing was decided. Dupin declared that he appeared as an advocate, not as a deputy, and was prepared to give a legal opinion, but not to take part in any political resolution. Such a

man was clearly not suited for a crisis in which legality was outraged by its supreme guardians; and the more eager of the journalists subsequently assembled at the office of the 'National,' where, under the presidency of M. Laborde, after a stormy discussion, they adopted and signed a protest against the ordinances, in which they pronounced them contrary to the Charter, the fundamental law of the State; declared they would not obey them; and called upon the recently-elected Chamber to meet as convoked on the 3d of August, and perform the duties France had a right to expect from it. This protest was signed by the editors and writers of all the opposition journals, except those of the 'Journal des Débats' and the 'Constitutionnel,' who both applied for the license prescribed by the first ordinance. The publishers of the 'Courier Français' and the 'Journal du Commerce' having refused, in consequence of a notice to that effect from Mangin, prefect of police, to print those papers, the proprietors summoned them before the Tribunal of First Instance and the Tribunal of Commerce, which pronounced summary judgments on the applications, deciding, on the ground that the ordinance of the 25th of July was contrary to the Charter, and therefore not obligatory, that the printers were bound to fulfil their contracts, and decreed against them accordingly. This decision of a court of justice against the ordinances had a vast effect in stimulating a spirit of resistance, and exhibited in a striking light the fatuity of the ministers who had undertaken the conduct of a revolution.

Polignac, indeed, evinced an indifference and unconcern which appears quite incredible. He attended at the foreign office as usual; and whilst all around him was anxiety and excitement, he showed himself more than ordinarily gay and serene. The idea of resistance seems never to have occurred to him; and to all who spoke to him touching the ordinances, he said, with an assuring smile, that they were merely momentary, imposed by the necessity of the case; that no real design existed of upsetting the Charter; that the government would return to it as soon as things were settled; and that, in short, France should have all the freedom she might be judged capable of using advantageously. Whilst he was in this state of hallucination, an important meeting of deputies was held at the house of Laborde, at seven in the evening of the 25th, at which it was proposed that all the members of the Chamber then in Paris should assemble and constitute themselves a national assembly; a proposition which it is probable would have been enthusiastically carried, but for the interposition of Casimir-Perier, who condemned it as leading to direct insurrection, and who held that they were no longer deputies, since the king had an incontestable right to dissolve the Chamber. He offered, however, to convoke a larger meeting of the deputies then in Paris, at an early hour next morning, at his own house,

to deliberate further on what ought to be done. This offer was accepted, and Perier circulated letters of convocation accordingly; but repenting of his precipitancy during the night, he sent out others to revoke them, and thus the meeting was not held until later, when its resolutions became of little consequence. In fact very little courage or determination was manifested among the opposition leaders; and as the National Guard was dissolved, no rallying-point existed for the bourgeoisie: the only hope of a successful insurrection rested on the people of the faubourgs.

On the morning of the 27th a visible agitation pervaded the whole of Paris. Groups were collected in the squares and at the corners of streets, discussing, some with violence, others with subdued accents, the occurrences of the few last hours. These groups were composed of all classes: the well-dressed bourgeois were mingled with the men of soiled garments from manufactories and workshops. The stoppage of the journals had thrown a great number of printers into the streets, burning with indignation, and prepared for any reckless deed. At this moment the office of the '*Temps*,' situated in the Rue Richelieu, was besieged by a body of gendarmerie, headed by a commissary of police. The outer door was barricaded; the whole establishment of editors, contributors, compositors, was drawn up in the yard to resist aggression; in vain the commissary summoned M. Baude, the chief gerant, to surrender, and deliver up the presses; the intrepid journalist appealed to the law, and refused to allow his premises to be invaded. An immense crowd in the meantime began gradually to congregate, and the commissary having forced his way into the yard, hesitated to proceed further. Fearing to use violence with an excited multitude around, he sent for a locksmith to open the door of the printing-room. This locksmith M. Baude so intimidated by warning him of the penalties awarded to house-breakers, that the man refused to execute the work, and was borne away in triumph on the shoulders of the people. After a delay of several hours, the man employed to rivet the irons of the galley-slaves was brought to the place, the doors were at length opened, and the presses seized or broken. A scene of nearly the same description occurred at the office of the '*National*,' and the popular ferment, thus fed by incidents calculated to produce a striking effect, soon grew more unequivocal and irrepressible.

As in the days of 1789, the garden of the Palais-Royal was the centre of the insurrectionary movement. Here vast assemblages gathered, among whom numerous orators were extemporised, who harangued with all the passionate vehemence of the old revolutionary school. One of the chief subjects of declamation was the appointment of Marmont, Duke of Ragusa, to the command of the military division which included Paris. Even more than Bourmont this unfortunate marshal was an object of detestation to the

people of France, as to his treachery was attributed the first occupation of Paris by the Allies, and the consequent overthrow of Napoleon, whose name had become more than ever dear to the bulk of the population. His selection was the most ill-judged that could be made, both on this account, and from the weakness of Marmont, who had neither the capacity nor the inclination to subdue the rebellious metropolis. From the Palais-Royal detachments of the crowd issued and traversed the principal thoroughfares of the city, vociferating cries of *Vive la Charte!* mingled occasionally with *Vive l'Empereur!* Strong patrols perambulated the streets, and from time to time dispersed these crowds; but towards evening, the exasperation having increased from the natural effect of continual stimulants and angry collisions, the people began to resist, to throw stones, brickbats, and every sort of missile, at the soldiers, who long observed an exemplary forbearance; but at length they fired, and with the first shot the insurrection spread to the remotest quarters of the capital. Among the victims some women fell, and their bodies were carried in procession through the streets amidst furious shouts of *Vengeance! Death to the Bourbons!* Thus the population of the suburbs was roused to make common cause with the bourgeoisie, and joined in the rallying-cry it scarcely comprehended of *Vive la Charte!*

During this day meetings both of the electors of Paris and of deputies were held, at which very violent speeches were made, but no resolutions of any moment were arrived at. In the former, Thiers, who had exhibited a remarkable courage and firmness from the first, took a conspicuous part; but still he recommended what was called a legal resistance, and deprecated an open insurrection, which he viewed as a desperate experiment, sure to end in defeat and ruin. In like manner Perier, Dupin, Sebastiani, held the same language in the Assembly of Deputies; and whilst the people clamoured loudly for a decisive declaration of hostility, for the standard of revolt to be fairly unfurled, these meetings could resolve upon no stronger demonstrations than addresses and petitions to the king to withdraw the ordinances and dismiss his ministers. In reality, the leading Liberals were perhaps more afraid of a popular insurrection than of a royal despotism, seeing in it the probable consequences of a universal plunder and an abhorred Republicanism; hence they were anxious to mediate a compromise, and deeming that sufficient indications had been given to scare the crown, they hoped to extort concessions which would at once satisfy the demands of public liberty, and obviate the dangers of a democratic revolution.

But on the morning of the 28th it was evident that all hope of an accommodation was at an end. The suburbs were fairly in commotion, and poured forth their thousands of stalwart com-

batants, mingled with women in high excitement, and ragged boys, who rushed to battle in the sheerest recklessness as to sport and pastime. The majority were unarmed, but muskets were supplied to them from various quarters; and several military posts having been forced, before the day closed few were without muskets. Several companies of the old National Guards spontaneously turned out, and the students of the Polytechnic School and of the medical colleges broke from their bounds, and joined the warlike multitude. Alarm having taken the place of security in the mind of Polignac, an ordinance was hastily obtained from St Cloud, declaring Paris in a state of siege; and Marmont adopted a plan for occupying the principal points of the capital, so as to secure a complete command of it. With this view he directed strong detachments from the Tuileries, by converging routes on the Place de Grève, in the very heart of Paris, whereby he proposed to seize the Hôtel de Ville, the bridges over the Seine, and the chief arteries of communication, encamping his army, as it were, in an inner and impregnable radius. Little did he dream of the opposition the unfortunate troops were to encounter in these complicated movements. After emerging from the Boulevards on one side, and traversing the quays of the Seine on the other, they became entangled in streets with numerous narrow openings, from which murderous volleys were discharged upon them as they passed; whilst from the windows and roofs of the houses, stones, bricks, tiles, rafters, heavy pieces of furniture, were precipitated upon them, women being seen from balconies and parapets hurling these missiles with deadly intent. In front, dense masses of the people opposed their progress, and here and there some slight barricades were erected to stop them, which they had to carry with the bayonet. Against the Swiss Guards a merciless exasperation was evinced, and numbers of them fell in the strife; but towards the French soldiers signs of conciliation were made, which had a great effect upon the troops, who had little heart in the enterprise of shooting their fellow-countrymen. However, urged by their officers, they continued to advance, and the foremost ranks reached the Place de Grève, which they occupied with cannon, and intrenched themselves, moreover, in the Hôtel de Ville.

But with an army of not more than 12,000 men (for, despite the vapouring of Polignac, that was the utmost force in Paris), this dissemination of the troops proved in the end fatal to the royal cause. The whole population of Paris was now under arms; old soldiers of the Grand Army, Polytechnic students, officers of the National Guard, volunteered as leaders, and were everywhere accepted with acclamations by the ardent yet docile people. Immense barricades were formed in all directions, gradually hemming in the troops, and cutting off their communications. No

provisions could be distributed among them, and from the intense heat of the weather, they suffered dreadfully from thirst. Moved by compassion, many women went among them with bottles of water and wine; and but for this timely aid numbers would have perished from mere exhaustion. Nevertheless the fighting continued upon every point around the whole area of the field of battle. From the tops of barricades, from behind walls and windows, a continual fire was kept up upon the soldiers, who returned it feebly, and indeed knew not where to aim. Upon the open squares, such as the Place de Grève, ragged boys crept along the ground and under the horses' bellies, and discharged muskets into the very breasts of the officers in command. These sanguinary urchins were spared by the soldiers, as well as women, who killed several officers in cold blood; and it may be said that the insurrection owed no small part of its success to the gamins and the viragoes of Paris. Towards evening, Marmont saw it necessary to draw in and concentrate his forces before it was too late, and he issued orders accordingly for them to fall back on the Tuileries. Many of the regiments had great difficulty in executing this retrograde movement, having to carry several barricades in reverse, and they suffered immense losses. The Hôtel de Ville was evacuated at midnight, and before morning, the royal army rested on the Tuileries, stretching along a line extending from the Louvre to the Champs-Élysées; the troops of the line occupying the garden of the Tuileries and the Place Vendôme; the Guards occupying the Carrrouzel, the Place Louis XV., and the boulevard of the Madeleine; the Louvre was garrisoned by four battalions of Swiss. From the other parts of Paris the army was completely separated; it was now reduced to the defensive, although large reinforcements had been sent for from the camps of St Omer and Lunéville, and Marmont offered to stake his head that he could defend the Tuileries for fifteen days.

At a considerable meeting of deputies held at the house of Audry (de Puyraveau), a deputation of five members had been named to wait on Marmont to demand a cessation of hostilities. This deputation consisted of Laffitte, Perier, Mauguin, and Generals Gerard and Lobau. Lafayette was present at this meeting, having arrived the preceding night from his country-seat of Lagrange. The deputation penetrated with some difficulty to the presence of Marmont in the palace of the Tuileries. M. Arago, already invested with the celebrity he so long enjoyed, had preceded it on a similar mission to the marshal. An intimate friendship bound the illustrious academician to the latter, and he visited him to beseech him to put a stop to the effusion of blood, and to seize the opportunity of redeeming himself from the imputations of 1814 by immediately throwing up the command. Marmont was deeply affected, and trembled violently at this

interpellation: he said such a step would cover him with the infamy of a double treason; his fate was a horrible one, but he could not shrink from performing the duty intrusted to him by the king. Whilst thus shaken by the remonstrances of his friend, the deputation was announced, and Marmont was exposed to another trial, which almost overwhelmed him. Laffitte represented to him in strong colours the terrible responsibility he was incurring, and called upon him, in the name of their common country, to order a cessation of hostilities, and demand from the king a revocation of the ordinances. The marshal pleaded it was beyond the sphere of his duty to do either, but offered to write to the king. Laffitte inquired if he supposed any good result would accrue from his so doing. Marmont shook his head despondingly. 'In that case,' exclaimed Laffitte, 'I am determined to embark body and fortune in the movement.' Polignac, who was in the adjoining apartment, having refused to see the deputation, it retired, fain to be satisfied with the pledge of Marmont to despatch a faithful account of the state of affairs to Charles X. at St Cloud.

During the night of the 28th-29th Paris was wrapped in that fitful stillness which succeeds the clang of warfare, and its inhabitants had sunk into the feverish slumbers the hideous excitement of the day permitted. But still the city was divided into two hostile camps, and patrols guarded the respective posts as in the presence of deadly enemies. No authority of any description existed, as the civil officers of the crown had long since taken to flight, and the deputies were as yet too timid to initiate anything like a government. Yet not a single act of robbery or violence was committed during the whole time that the capital lay at the mercy of its undisciplined masses: an extraordinary fact, redounding certainly to the honour of the French character, and showing that men reeking with the blood of countrymen may be animated to a noble heroism and disinterestedness. Such an opportunity for seizing power on the part of any bold individuals had scarcely ever before presented itself. Notwithstanding all that has been alleged touching the secret organisation of the Republicans, Bonapartists, Orleanists, it is clear that these factions must all have been unprepared for an available movement, and were in a situation to do little more than watch the course of events. In this conjuncture, much more favourable, doubtless, than that for the extraordinary enterprise of Malet,* an energetic officer put himself at the head of affairs by simply borrowing a pair of epaulettes from an actor, and a general's uniform from a second-hand clothes-dealer. This was Dubourg, who, possessing a martial air, an undisturbed assurance, and a boundless audacity,

* See Vol. II. pp. 270, 271.

summoned around him a body of armed men, and at their head marched to take possession of the Hôtel de Ville. As he passed on his way, all asked what general was thus gained to the popular cause. 'It is General Dubourg,' replied his followers, and instantly loud shouts resounded of *Vive General Dubourg!* The general proceeded with admirable serenity, and installed himself at the Hôtel de Ville, where he was joined by M. Baude and some other journalists, who constituted themselves a provisional government, with Dubourg as president, and Colonel Zimmer as secretary. This government commenced its functions early on the morning of the 29th, and in the course of the day issued innumerable orders, all tending to the supply of the wants and the preservation of the tranquillity of Paris; and they were implicitly obeyed, as if emanating from the most legitimate of authorities.

The conflict had continued for nearly two days, and on Thursday the 29th it was resumed with increased ardour. From the break of day the roar of cannon and the report of musketry was heard at intervals throughout the city, and even to the peaceful groves of St Cloud. The tocsin pealed from every steeple and belfry from Notre-Dame to St Sulpice; the *générale* was beaten through all the streets, and the tri-coloured flag waved from the Hôtel de Ville and the principal buildings. The deepest alarm prevailed among all the friends of monarchy, who saw now that the institution itself was perilled; or if that might survive, that the existence of the dynasty was in serious jeopardy. Upon none did these apprehensions make so deep an impression as on M. de Sémonville, grand-referendary of the Chamber of Peers, who had many motives for a warm attachment to the Bourbons; and accordingly, taking with him M. d'Argout, he repaired, on the morning of the 29th, to one of the posts of the palace, and was straightway admitted to an audience of Marmont and Polignac. From the latter he demanded the immediate revocation of the ordinances, for which the minister politely referred him to the king. A warm altercation ensued, in which Sémonville upbraided Polignac with deceiving the king as to the state of affairs, and with hurrying the monarchy to ruin. Polignac, preserving all his coolness and confidence, replied that if such were his opinion, it was his duty, as a high functionary of the State, to communicate his sentiments to the king; and so saying he took his leave, to attend a council of the ministers in an adjacent apartment. In proportion to his own passion, Sémonville was irritated at the unruffled countenance of the prince, and lent himself for a moment to a ridiculous proposal for arresting all the ministers at the council-board; but eventually he took the wiser course of proceeding with all haste to seek an interview with the ill-fated Charles at St Cloud.

It is true that Polignac had fed his royal master with egregious

misstatements touching the course of events in Paris, but he had done so in perfect sincerity, and simply from the blindness of his own ineffable conceit. Charles was only too prone to be deceived, and he pursued his favourite amusement of hunting with all the gaiety and zest of ordinary times, talking to his attendants as he rode to the field in the tone of a monarch whom necessity had compelled to take unpleasant steps against his subjects, but which would be all for their good in the end. Vitrolles, his old confidant of the Pavillon Marsan, was the first who attempted to awaken him from this supineness, and arouse him to a sense of the impending danger; but Charles listened to him with incredulity, and instead of alarming the monarch, Vitrolles became himself ashamed of the fears he had entertained. The bulletins despatched by Marmont were ambiguous, for whilst he alluded to the imminent and increasing perils of the conflict, he still vouched for the final success of his operations, and particularly for his capacity to hold the Tuileries until the arrival of reinforcements from St Omer and Lunéville. Whatever depressing effect these communications might possibly have had, Polignac took care to obviate; for seeing them before they were sent, he relieved their disagreeable truths by accompanying assurances that they were overcharged. However, even Polignac began to waver in his supreme confidence; and when he related to his colleagues the formal accusation of the Marquis de Sémonville, it was unanimously resolved that the ministers should forthwith repair to St Cloud, and hold their deliberations in the presence of the king. Hence it was with surprise, mingled with indignation, that the first person Sémonville encountered in the vestibule of the château was Polignac, who, by taking a more direct route, had outstripped him in his arrival. The prince advanced to him and said, 'As you have come here to present an accusation against the ministers in the name of the peerage, it is proper you should first have an interview with his majesty; we will hold our council afterwards.' So saying, he conducted the marquis to the door of the royal cabinet, and ushered him into the presence of the king.

Sémonville was awe-struck and affected when he beheld the venerable prince, erect, composed, benignant, and thought upon the doom that hung so unconsciously above him. With much agitation he unfolded to him the state of Paris, the exasperation of the people, the virtual defeat of the troops, and implored him, as he valued his crown, as he valued the inheritance of his grandson, to dismiss his ministers, and revoke the fatal ordinances. Charles listened to his earnest phrases with the same calmness he had ever displayed, and defended the ordinances on the ground of their necessity to maintain the cause of order, morality, and religion. Taking Sémonville by the hands, he exclaimed: 'Be assured victory will remain to the good cause; orders have been

despatched for numerous troops to join the Royal Guard.' In despair of moving him by real representations, Sémonville adverted to the probable danger of the dauphiness, who had recently departed for the waters of Mont d'Or, and who, he hinted, might be seized, and incur the fate of the Princess de Lamballe. Charles was much moved, and after a pause, replied: 'Perhaps you are right, Sémonville; I thank you for your advice; I will consult my council, and take a definitive resolution, one conformable to circumstances.' With which assurance the grand-referendary humbly took his leave.

The king immediately afterwards presided over the council of his ministers. With the exception of Polignac all were downcast and disconcerted. Peyronnet, whose firmness had been considered immovable, avowed that with the existing ministry it was hopeless to negotiate with the insurgents of Paris. To negotiate with insurgents appeared very justly almost tantamount to an abdication; and Charles remarked that he would never lower himself to such an extremity, repeating his favourite expression, 'That he would not die, like his brother, on the scaffold, but would know how to mount his horse.' But the sudden arrival of the Baron Vitrolles put an end to this vaunting humour, which had been too long sustained. He brought still more alarming intelligence from Paris, and the king could not doubt either the truth of his report or the sincerity of his counsel. He advised the nomination of the Duke de Mortemart as president of the council, a nobleman known equally for his affection to the dynasty and for his liberal principles. Confounded by so startling a concurrence of sentiments, Charles, with a precipitation which contrasted oddly with his previous obstinacy, instantly acceded to the course recommended, and as Mortemart was at St Cloud, he was immediately summoned to attend the royal presence. In the meantime the king took an affectionate farewell of Polignac and his colleagues, saying that he had hoped to effect much good with their aid, but that circumstances had ruled otherwise; and retaining Chantelauze only to countersign the ordinance, he affixed his name to the appointment of Mortemart as president of the council. When the duke arrived, he was overwhelmed with amazement at this sudden trust thrust upon him, and long refused all the importunities of the king to accept it. At length the latter exclaimed in a reproachful tone: 'Do you refuse, then, to save my crown and the heads of my ministers?' Such an appeal it was impossible to resist, and with a heavy heart Mortemart took the ordinance of nomination from the hands of the king.

Being thus invested at so mournful a moment with the chief direction of affairs, the Duke de Mortemart held a council with Vitrolles, Sémonville, and D'Argout, who all agreed with him in the propriety of appointing General Gerard and Casimir-Perier

to places in the new ministry, and likewise that the ordinances of the 25th of July must be immediately revoked. To these propositions the king at once assented; but deferred signing the requisite ordinances, saying that it would be better to wait until fresh information arrived from Paris. In the meantime Sémonville and the two others started in all haste for Paris to carry intelligence of the formation of the new ministry, which they expected would have the sovereign effect of arresting the insurrection. Mortemart remained at St Cloud, which, after the departure of the three intermediaries, relapsed into its usual quietude. It was already evening, and the dusk of night was falling. In the saloon of the palace were assembled the king, the dauphin, the Duchess de Berry, Mortemart, the Duke de Luxembourg, and other attendants of the court. Not a word was said about the state of Paris; but as if the happiest tranquillity had reigned, the king sat down to play his accustomed game of whist. The Duchess de Berry, the Duke de Luxembourg, and M. de Daras, made up his party, whilst the dauphin occupied his attention by studying a map extended before him. Mortemart alone appeared to evince the smallest anxiety; he crept to the windows, and through the gentle rustling of the leaves, listened to catch the slightest noise; he then returned uneasily, and remarked with amazement the placidity which played upon the features of those so deeply interested in the vicissitudes of the hour.

Shortly after midnight Vitrolles and D'Argout returned to the palace. Mortemart was up to receive them. Not a moment was to be lost in signing the ordinances if any desire remained to effect an accommodation. They were hastily transcribed, and Mortemart flew to the chamber of the king. The body-guards opposed his passage, and refused to hearken to his passionate expostulations. It required the personal conduct of the officer of the watch to convoy him past the different sentries to the door of the royal bedchamber. Charles was asleep, but awakened as Mortemart entered. He turned languidly towards him and said: 'Ah! M. le Duc, is it you?' Mortemart briefly explained to him the urgent necessity that had arisen for immediately signing the ordinances. 'Let us wait a little longer,' the king replied. 'But, sire, the Count d'Argout is here; he will tell you the situation of Paris.' 'I don't choose to see the Count d'Argout,' retorted the monarch, moving testily. 'Well, then, sire, the Baron de Vitrolles is with him: is it your pleasure that he be introduced?' 'The Baron de Vitrolles? Oh yes; let him come in.' Vitrolles advanced to his master's couch. 'How! M. de Vitrolles,' exclaimed Charles, 'is it you who advise me to yield to rebellious subjects?' The baron excused himself by pleading the force of circumstances, and confirmed all that Mortemart had previously stated. The king started up in his bed, and declared

he was ready to sign. The ordinances were placed before him, the royal signature was attached, and by three in the morning Mortemart, Vitrolles, and D'Argout were on their way to Paris with the important documents.

Great events had occurred during this momentous day of the 29th of July. Animated by their previous successes, the people attacked the troops with an ardour and valour unsurpassed by the best-disciplined soldiers, and drove them from every isolated post they occupied. Two regiments of the line on the Place Vendôme fraternised with the people, and suffered themselves to be disarmed. Shortly afterwards an imprudent displacement of the Swiss in the Louvre being attempted, the opportunity was seized to force one of the wickets, and the besiegers poured in without opposition, overrunning the spacious galleries, and opening upon the Swiss below a murderous fire. These were seized with a panic, and fled, too anxious to avoid the fate of their countrymen on the 10th of August. Precipitating themselves on the Carrouzel, they imparted their panic to the Guards, and in a few moments all was confusion, dismay, and flight. In vain Marmont and his chief officers strove to prevent the retreat of the troops; they were borne along in the current, and the people remained victorious on the field of battle. The royal army retired by the garden of the Tuileries, and through the Champs-Élysées and the arch de l'Etoile evacuated the city. The belligerent multitude rushed headlong into the palace of the monarchy, and in a moment every corner of it was ransacked. The apartments of the king, the dauphin, and the princesses were precisely as they had left them—filled with the costly magnificence of regal habitations. Furniture, dresses, pictures, statues, were destroyed, but nothing was purloined. After sundry of the besiegers had seated themselves on the throne in the grand reception-room, a bloody corpse was placed upon it in hideous mockery of the divine right which gave it a living occupant. As the prisons had been broken open, numerous thieves and convicts of every description were mingled with the victors, and eventually a great number of robberies took place; but the people, properly so called, displayed an exemplary magnanimity, voluntarily guarded rich repositories, and inflicted summary punishment on all detected in the act of appropriating or concealing plunder.*

Meanwhile, a meeting of the deputies in Paris was held at the house of Laffitte, at which important resolutions were adopted. Lafayette was appointed commander of all the military forces, including the National Guard, and General Gerard was nominated

* During the three days of the 27th, 28th, and 29th, it is estimated that about 1350 of the people were killed and about 5400 wounded, of whom 400 subsequently died. Of the troops only 800 were killed and 1200 wounded, the disparity being owing probably to the want of firearms by the people on the two first days.

to act under him in active operations. A provisional government was formed, consisting of Laffitte, Mauguin, Casimir-Perier, Audry de Puyraveau, Schonen, and Lobau, which took the modest designation of a 'Municipal Commission.' Lafayette proceeded in triumph to the Hôtel de Ville, surrounded by an immense concourse of people, and was received by Dubourg and the other self-constituted authorities with the profound respect due to a Revolutionist of fifty years' standing. Lafayette assumed his post as chief of the executive government, and from that moment he became master of the destinies of France. The Municipal Commission likewise installed itself in office, whereof Odillon-Barrot was appointed secretary. Thus, long before the hapless king had brought himself to sign the ordinances of revocation, the royal government was completely displaced, and the monarch himself virtually dethroned.

Upon their first arrival from St Cloud, Sémonville, D'Argout, and Vitrolles, had repaired to the Hôtel de Ville, and held an interview with Lafayette and the Municipal Commission. They made known the appointment of the Duke de Mortemart, and the agreement of the king to revoke the ordinances of the 25th, but the announcement was received with indifference. 'It is too late!' exclaimed De Schonen; 'the throne of Charles X. has crumbled in blood!' Sémonville appealed to Lafayette, by their common recollections of 1789 in that same locality, to preserve the throne of Louis XVI.'s brother. Lafayette said, 'I suppose they will consent to adopt the tri-colour?' The grand-referendary replied that he had no instructions upon that point. 'Oh, if that costs them any pain, they may dispense with it,' rejoined the general. 'All is over!' Mauguin inquired if the negotiators had any written powers, to which embarrassing question Sémonville was preparing to reply, when Audry de Puyraveau started up and ran to the window. 'Speak no more of compromises,' he cried, 'or I will call up the people!' The mighty roar of swarming thousands echoed through the casement, and struck the negotiators dumb with terror: in dismay they hurried from the scene.

On the following day the Count de Sussy presented himself at the Hôtel de Ville, charged with a letter from the Duke de Mortemart to Lafayette, and with duplicates of the new ordinances signed by the king. He sought a private interview with the dictator, but that vainglorious personage exclaimed, 'Let him enter. I am in the midst of my friends, and I have no secrets from them!' The hall was filled with the armed populace, and M. de Sussy advanced into the midst, overpowered by heat and confusion. He could with difficulty hand to Lafayette the documents of which he was the bearer, although the general spoke to him cheerfully. 'You come on the part of the Duke de Mortemart,' he said; 'we are slightly related, but I am not quite such a

Royalist as the noble duke.' He then opened the packet containing the ordinances, the perusal of which occasioned an outburst of indignation. 'More ordinances!' was shouted; 'new ministers named by Charles X.! Down with the Bourbons!' 'You hear,' Lafayette observed to M. de Sussy; 'you see that all is over for those who sent you here.' 'Yes,' interposed Audry de Puyraveau with a theatrical gesture, 'it is too late!' 'It is too late!' reverberated the crowd; 'we will have no more Bourbons!' Sussy, trembling amid this savage tumult, begged to have an acknowledgment of the receipt of the ordinances; and Lafayette accordingly wrote a letter to the Duke de Mortemart, with which the disconcerted envoy hastily disappeared. On that same day a proclamation was issued from the Hôtel de Ville, commencing with the ominous and all-conclusive words—'Charles the Tenth has ceased to reign in France!'

Notwithstanding this disdainful rejection of all overtures on the part of the reigning king, a feeling of intense disquietude and apprehension prevailed in Paris. The aspect of the city was at once extraordinary, mournful, and terrible. Immense barricades were reared in every part, on the Boulevards, and in all the principal streets, to resist any attempt of the troops to return. Upon these were mounted ferocious-looking men, black with the smoke of powder, and begrimed with gore, who questioned all passers-by, and exercised the functions of sentinels in the most abrupt and peremptory manner. The circulation of carriages was stopped; the shops were closed; all trade was suspended; and the only signs of animation were given by excited multitudes traversing the thoroughfares singing the fiery refrains of the Marseillaise, interspersed with hollow sounds of *Death to the shedders of the blood of the people!* Occasionally that fearful cry was heard—*Bread or Death!* which in times past had been the signal of such fatal catastrophes. In truth, as in all periods of commotion, the question of the provisioning of Paris was one of the most urgent with the provisional government, and to calm distrust, which is worse than actual dearth, a statement was published, showing that there was in the granaries and the stores of bakers sufficient flour to feed the diminished population for at least five weeks. But the danger consisted in the king establishing a blockade to prevent the ingress of further supplies, which, with the large army at his disposal, he might easily accomplish. Again, might he not bombard the city from the heights of Montmartre and Chaumont? Rumour was already ripe with her hundred tongues to proclaim the approach of heavy battery trains, and it was certainly known that the dauphin had held a review of the troops in the Bois de Boulogne, but different accounts were given of the spirit in which he had been received. Undoubtedly, if either the king or the dauphin had possessed sufficient energy to place himself at the

head of the army, and take up a threatening position as regarded Paris, some hope of a favourable negotiation with the revolted capital might have been entertained. But no such energy was shared by either; and Charles especially, who had exhibited so much of that obstinacy which is often taken for firmness, gave way from the first shock of repulse to a despondency which marked him for irretrievable ruin. A strange fatality hung over this withered branch of the antiquated stem; a fatuous minister had provoked the conflict with a third of the troops he boasted to hold at disposal; a commander had been appointed whom a previous dereliction oppressed with an insufferable weight, and paralysed in the decisive moments of action. If on the Carrouzel he had imitated the example of Napoleon on the 21st Vendémiaire, he might at least have saved the Tuileries from being stormed; and if he had, from the first symptom of rebellion, instead of engaging his soldiers in the pitfalls of streets, opened a vigorous bombardment, he might have saved the monarchy itself from destruction.

The immediate effect of all civil broils is to produce a stagnation of industry, to arrest the progress of commerce, to throw out of employment both capital and labour. Such was the sad consequence of this insurrection of July, defensible and commendable as it unquestionably was, if ever a popular insurrection might be so. All operations in the public funds were interrupted, for the Bourse was closed; all facilities for discounts or the realising of cash were at an end, for not a bank was open, and money was hoarded with the tenacity of a miser's gripe. In this conjuncture the Municipal Commission issued a decree postponing the payment of bills of Exchange for ten days, and the Tribunal of Commerce confirmed that decree by a special *arrêt* or deliverance. As it was impossible to provide profitable occupation for the thousands of idle men who swarmed in the streets, a new force was improvised for the occasion, called the *Garde Nationale Mobile*, which was to consist of twenty regiments, and in which all citizens capable of bearing arms were invited to enrol themselves. This *Garde Mobile* could be sent to any part of France, and became as disposable as the regular army. The pay of each private soldier was fixed at thirty sous a day, and with such a temptation, it is not surprising that the ranks of the new guard were speedily filled with recruits from a starving and war-enslaved population.

To terminate this perilous and provisional state of things was the anxious wish of all parties. The Chamber of Deputies had commenced its sittings at the Palais-Bourbon, and several peers had congregated with Sémonville at the Luxembourg. With these bodies Mortemart opened conferences, which were quite as fruitless as those he had essayed at the Hôtel de Ville. In fact,

from the backwardness displayed by both the peers and the deputies during the famous Three Days, they had lost nearly all influence over the people, who were disposed to look to the Hôtel de Ville alone for a definitive solution of the crisis. On this account Lafayette was besieged by the Republicans to proclaim a republic, and by the Bonapartists to declare in favour of Napoleon II., whom he had himself joined in acknowledging in 1815 as a member of the Chamber of Representatives. But with all his extravagant egotism, Lafayette had a reasonable respect for the sensible and the practicable. He had seen sufficient of a republic in France to be aware that it meant a tyranny the most odious and horrible ever known on the face of the earth; the son of Napoleon, the young Duke of Reichstadt, was in Austria, under the control of his grandfather Francis, who would scarcely incur the risk of kindling a European war by co-operating to place him on the throne of France. A third alternative there was, which united an immense majority of suffrages; and the more so, because it was one of old conception, and had been repeatedly canvassed. This was the elevation of the Duke of Orleans to the crown, as had been proposed in 1814 and 1815, and which promised to combine three signal advantages:—1st, It would give France a national sovereign, such as she had not possessed since the fall of Napoleon; 2dly, It would tend more effectually than any other combination to restore peace and order in the country, which was disturbed not only in Paris, but in all the principal towns of the kingdom; 3dly, It assured the probability of peace being maintained with the other powers of Europe. So satisfied were the deputies of the reality of these advantages, that on the afternoon of the 30th they passed an almost unanimous vote conferring on the Duke of Orleans the lieutenant-generalship of the kingdom, and nominated a deputation to wait on him with the offer of that brilliant post. The duke had hitherto kept himself in seclusion, and indeed concealment, at Neuilly, both from apprehensions of violence on the part of the Royalists, and from a desire to avoid importunities calculated to embarrass and compromise him. But after the vote of the deputies, and when even menaces were addressed to him if he longer continued to withhold himself, he emerged from his retreat; and towards the hour of midnight on the 30th, walked into Paris, clambered the intervening barricades, and reached in safety his sumptuous abode of the Palais-Royal. On the following morning he received the deputation of the Chamber, and was immediately afterwards proclaimed Lieutenant-General of the kingdom.

From the friendly relations which had existed between Charles X. and the Duke of Orleans, it was a matter of great delicacy on the part of the latter thus to place himself between the king and the nation; and he sought by every assurance of continued

devotion and attachment to acquit himself of hostile or ambitious motives. These he could make with sincerity, for in truth he acted upon a compulsion it would have been madness in him to resist, and his compliance offered the only chance for a preservation of royalty, or at least of a Bourbon royalty, in France. Of this it was not difficult to convince the poor old king. He had sunk into a dejection and prostration truly pitiable: as he had regarded himself the instrument of Providence to restore the throne and the altar to their ancient lustre, so did he now bend himself to the stroke which he deemed to reveal the displeasure of Heaven, and henceforth refused to make any exertion for the recovery of his authority. Even when the dauphin, roused at last to an ebullition of vigour, proposed to collect all the troops, and march upon the capital, according to a plan arranged with M. de Champagny, Charles put his veto upon it, and would hear of no such enterprise.* Becoming alarmed for his safety and that of his family at St Cloud, however, he removed on the 31st to Trianon, and thence, after a short sojourn, to Rambouillet, where he was joined by the dauphiness, who had incurred infinite dangers in her journey across the country. 'You cannot say that I have done it!' she exclaimed as she threw herself weeping into the arms of the king; and it is a fact that she had opposed the issuing of the ordinances, which were framed without her knowledge. At Rambouillet four commissioners waited on him from the Duke of Orleans and the Chamber—the Duke de Coigny, Marshal Maison, De Schonen, and Odillon-Barrot—to procure from him his abdication and also that of the dauphin. The reasons upon which he was induced to grant this act of renunciation were principally urged by Pozzo di Borgo, who represented to him that, by the voluntary abdication of himself and his son, against whom the indignation of the French was at the moment vehemently excited, he would promote the cause of his grandson, who could not with justice be made to suffer for acts of which he was necessarily guiltless. Moved by the force of this argument, and eager to embrace any device which might save the throne to the Duke de Bordeaux, Charles signed his abdication, to which the dauphin likewise attached his name, but made it contingent on the recognition of the title of his grandson to succeed him. He also formally recognised the Duke of Orleans as Lieutenant-

* There was likewise in the mind of the king a sentiment of doubt as to the reliance that might be placed on the army. Before the dismissal of the Martignac administration, whilst the future ordinances were still in an uncertain vista, Charles, in a moment of surprised frankness, asked M. de Caux, minister of war, one day whether he could rely upon the army. De Caux replied, that for the execution of anything according to the Charter he might safely do so, but not against it; 'for,' said he, 'I have returns by me which show that out of 20,000 officers there are not 500 gentlemen, and not 1000 who have 600 francs a year (£24). With such you will not easily make an old régime.' This observation made a deep impression on the king.

general of the kingdom, under the like proviso of his executing the office as regent for Henry V.

These last acts of Charles X., clogged by inadmissible conditions, were not received; and as he had nearly 12,000 men encamped around him in the park of Rambouillet, it became an object of solicitude with the government to induce him to leave the kingdom. It was well known that direct threats would have no effect upon him, except to revive his slumbering obstinacy, and that only by alarming him as to the dangers of a popular rising against him could he be induced to make a voluntary retreat. As to compelling him by force, that would be a perilous experiment, and might lead at once to the conflagration of a civil war. But through those stimulants which are so potent upon the population of Paris, it was easy to collect a few thousands of the heroes of July, and impel them upon Rambouillet, only forty miles distant, as the conquerors of the Bastille had inundated Versailles in October 1789. Of this extraordinary expedition General Pajol was constituted the commander, and it commenced its march on the 3d August. Preceding it, Maison, Schonen, and Barrot, returned as commissioners to urge the departure of the king, upon whose apprehensions they eventually succeeded in so working, that he consented to leave, and proceed by easy stages to Cherbourg, there to embark for England, or anywhere else he thought fit to go. On the evening of the 3d, accordingly, he left Rambouillet, accompanied by a strong detachment of his Guards, and by the three commissioners, and on the 16th embarked on board two American steam-vessels lying in that harbour, which conveyed him, the dauphin, the dauphiness, the Duchess de Berry, the Duke de Bordeaux, and the Princess Louisa, to the shores of England. By previous arrangement, the ex-royal family proceeded to Edinburgh, where his former abode of the palace of Holyrood was placed at the disposition of Charles X.

Thus once more fell the throne of the elder Bourbons in the person of an amiable and religious monarch, but one endowed with vices of character so flagrant and so irremediable, as from the first to insure his ruin, and to entail upon his country all the disasters of another sanguinary revolution.

CHAPTER XXII.

ELECTION OF LOUIS-PHILIPPE TO THE THRONE—DICTATORSHIP OF LAFAYETTE, AND STRENUOUS EFFORTS OF THE REPUBLICANS—CHARTER OF 1830, AND OPENING OF THE CHAMBERS—SETTLEMENT OF THE GOVERNMENT—ORGANISATION OF FRANCE IN ITS ADMINISTRATIVE, JUDICIAL, ECCLESIASTICAL, EDUCATIONAL, FINANCIAL, AND MILITARY ESTABLISHMENTS—ITS COMMERCE, MANUFACTURES, AND POPULATION.

The Revolution of 1830 has been compared with the English Revolution of 1688, and in many important features there is a remarkable analogy between them. In both countries a king had been decapitated, his family proscribed, and a republic established on the ruins of monarchy. In both this republic had lapsed into a military despotism, which in both paved the way for the restoration of the original royal stock; in both two brothers had succeeded each other on the throne; and in both the younger brothers had been dethroned for attempting to subvert the national liberties they had sworn to uphold, each a pious and sincere prince, bigoted, doubtless, and capable of dissimulation, but still acting upon the impulses of a conscientious, although mistaken duty. But if in their antecedent and personal characteristics the two events have so much in common, in their principles and circumstances they vary materially. The Revolution of 1688 was almost purely aristocratic—it was an oligarchy who deposed an unpopular king; the Revolution of 1830 was almost purely democratic—it was a people who deposed the monarch they had condemned. Yet in their immediate consequences, notwithstanding this fundamental difference, they again took a feature of apparent identity, and resulted in the substitution of younger branches of the same royal families on the subverted thrones. In the case of England, this substitution was prompted more especially by motives of religion; in that of France, by a mingled sense of expediency and a dread of Jacobinical anarchy.

For many years the Duke of Orleans had been looked to by the liberal party in France as its future king. The idea had been inculcated in numerous publications having reference to the events of 1688 and the government of the last of the Stuarts, which bore so palpable a resemblance to the state of affairs in France, as to supply the most significant of applications. Of these works, the most successful was a 'History of the Counter-Revolution in England' by Armand Carrel, one of the chief editors of the 'National.' After the formation of the Polignac ministry, M. Cauchois-

Lemaire boldly published a pamphlet, openly advocating a change of the dynasty in favour of the Duke of Orleans, which likewise produced a powerful impression. Thus the public mind was prepared to receive with acquiescence, if not with approbation, the name of the duke as successor to the crown; and when the deputies in Paris nominated him Lieutenant-General of the kingdom, no serious opposition was manifested to his immediate assumption of the office. The situation of Paris was such that all, save the abettors of anarchy, were solicitous for the institution of a government capable of restoring order and tranquillity. The armed masses were still in the streets, and might at any moment, and at any instigation, commence a general plunder; the palace of the Archbishop of Paris and the Jesuit seminary of Montrouge had already been attacked, and all their contents destroyed. A terrible agitation prevailed, as was natural, after such a scene of carnage and successful insurrection; and although, by continual proclamations and orations, it was sought to maintain order among the victorious people, in which the hyperboles of flattery were exhausted in their praise, apprehensions were unavoidable of further troubles and outrages. It is true the National Guard was almost completely reorganised, and gave some guarantee for the repression of any dangerous outbreak; but so long as Paris remained a field of combatants, the feeling of insecurity could not be allayed, nor the business of ordinary life be resumed. All the affairs of commerce were stagnant; the banks, the Bourse, the shops, the manufactories, were closed; and nothing but noise, tumult, confusion, the clang of arms, the roar of boisterous processions, prevailed in the streets of the metropolis. The principal towns of France were in the same deplorable condition; for almost everywhere the local authorities and the agents of the late government had been displaced, so that the whole country presented one uniform spectacle of riotous excitement and perilous fermentation.

The state of things was sufficiently appalling to alarm even Lafayette, that reveller in popular disturbances; and he too was anxious to terminate it by a settled government. The Municipal Commission had hitherto performed its difficult task of administering affairs with signal success, and had displayed an unwearied zeal amidst the numberless cares that oppressed it. In the execution of its functions it had been ably backed by the alacrity of respectable citizens in coming forward to offer their services in subordinate capacities, and all the twelve arrondissements of Paris were provided with mayors and adjuncts of a character fitted to inspire confidence. M. Laborde had assumed the post of prefect of the Seine, and M. Girod (de l'Ain) took upon himself the labours and responsibilities of the prefect of police. On the afternoon of the 30th of July the Commission issued a proclamation, in which were contained the following expressions:—

'INHABITANTS OF PARIS, CHARLES X. HAS CEASED TO REIGN OVER FRANCE! Unable to forget the *origin* of his authority, he has always considered himself as the enemy of our country and of its liberties, which he could not comprehend. After a series of furtive attacks by all the means of hypocrisy and fraud, when he thought himself sufficiently strong to destroy them openly, he resolved to drown them in the blood of Frenchmen. Thanks to your heroism, the crimes of his power are at an end. What people in the world have better deserved liberty! In the combat you have shown yourselves heroes; victory has disclosed in you those sentiments of moderation and humanity which attest the high degree of your civilisation; conquerors, and left to yourselves, without police and without magistrates, your virtues have supplied the place of all organisation; never have the rights of individuals been more religiously respected. Our sentiments and principles are yours. Instead of a power imposed by foreign arms, you will have a government which owes to you its origin. Virtues reside in all classes; all classes have the same rights; those rights are henceforth assured.' Such the language in which the redoubtable heroes of July were addressed by the provisional government, seeking to conciliate their rampant passions, and win them by cajolery to continue that forbearance they had hitherto so nobly observed.

Almost at the very moment that this proclamation was placarded through Paris, the deputies, assembled at the house of Laffitte to the number of about ninety, adopted a resolution inviting the Duke of Orleans to accept the office of Lieutenant-General of the kingdom. In this resolution a few peers sitting at the Luxembourg, with the Marquis de Semonville and the Duke de Mortemart, concurred, and a deputation was appointed to wait upon the duke at the Palais-Royal. At the head of this deputation was General Sebastiani, who reported to his colleagues upon his return, much to their surprise and consternation, that the prince was not in Paris, and that it was uncertain when he might arrive. In truth the Duke of Orleans had been anxiously deliberating as to the course he should pursue in the difficult emergency of the moment; for on one side he was restrained by his regard towards the king, whilst on the other, considerations both of prudence and of ambition counselled him to throw his weight into the opposing scale; and it was only after long consultation with advisers, of whom the most urgent and active with him to overcome his hesitation were Talleyrand, Thiers, and Dupin, that he at length made up his mind, and repaired to Paris late on the night of the 30th, entering it and gaining his own palace over the barricades on foot. He immediately sent for Mortemart, the last minister appointed by Charles X., who found him lying on a sofa half undressed, and exhausted with fatigue. He was much excited,

nevertheless, and exclaimed to Mortemart with vivacity, 'If you see the king before me, say that I have been brought by force to Paris.' He then proceeded to explain how he had been assailed and threatened at Neuilly, until the personal safety of himself and his family was involved in his compliance. He averred that his sole object in accepting the office of Lieutenant-General was to save the monarchy from ruin; that the office itself was of frequent precedent in the history of France; and that it implied no ulterior design incompatible with the continuance of Charles X. on the throne, or at least with the preservation of the elder dynasty. He wrote a letter to the king, which he confided to the Duke de Mortemart, whom he dismissed with the assurance that he was determined not to accept the crown for himself: an assurance which the more readily induced Charles formally to confirm his appointment as Lieutenant-General of the kingdom.

During the same night the prince held a conference with Talleyrand and others, in which the form of reception to be given to the deputation of the Chamber was discussed and agreed upon. By a communication to Laffitte the deputation was appointed to attend at the Palais-Royal early in the morning of the 31st, where it appeared accordingly with Laffitte himself at its head. To the address read by the latter the Duke of Orleans still replied ambiguously, expressing rather his sense of the compliment paid to him personally, than his resolution to accept the proffered dignity. 'Give me, I pray you,' he said, 'your address; it will be the noblest among my archives. It is impossible to be more deeply touched than I am at the high testimony of esteem and confidence which you have rendered me, even whilst deploing the grievous circumstances to which I owe it.' These words somewhat startled the deputation, the members of which proceeded to enforce upon him the imperative nature of the obligation he owed to France to rescue her from the anarchy with which she was threatened; and thus, besieging him with arguments and expostulations, seemed to press upon him an elevation to which he was himself indisposed. This was what he desired; and after allowing himself to be intreated a sufficient space of time, he retired with Sebastiani into an adjoining apartment, in which Talleyrand was waiting to play his part in the final scene. After an hour spent in deliberation, the duke again emerged, and in suitable and gracious terms intimated his acceptance of the important office so perseveringly thrust upon him. On the same forenoon he published the following proclamation in the columns of the 'Moniteur':—

'Inhabitants of Paris—The deputies of France, at this moment assembled in Paris, have expressed to me the desire that I should repair to this capital, to exercise the functions of Lieutenant-General of the kingdom.

I have not hesitated to come and partake your dangers, to place myself in the midst of your heroic population, and to devote all my efforts to preserve you from the calamities of civil war and anarchy.

On entering the city of Paris, I have borne with pride those glorious colours you have resumed, and which I had myself long borne.

The Chambers are about to meet; they will consider the means of assuring the reign of the laws and the maintenance of the rights of the nation.

A Charter will be henceforth a reality.

LOUIS-PHILIPPE D'ORLEANS.'

This proclamation had a beneficial effect upon the minds of the people, whom it was calculated at once to flatter and to satisfy; but the more completely to win their regard, it had been arranged that the new Lieutenant-General should visit the Hôtel de Ville, and there ratify his identification with the popular triumph. The preliminaries of this alliance between the palace and the focus of revolution had been settled with Lafayette, who still sat as the presiding genius of the civic storm. In this the veteran was of some service to his country; and his sacrifice of ambition, and, above all, of vanity, to his sense of patriotism, renders it one of the most honourable moments of his life. It is true his vanity was largely gratified in the emblazonment of his great abnegation; but had he listened to the counsels of the men who urged upon him the establishment of a republic, he would most surely have entailed upon France and Europe unspeakable miseries. Thus in this important action of his long and influential career, Lafayette was the providential instrument of more good than he had ever before been enabled to confer, since it was always his unhappy function to destroy, and never to construct, so preparing to vanish from the stage of the world as became a truthful, loyal, and venerated patriarch of liberty.

It was not without uneasiness that the Duke of Orleans traversed the streets from the Palais-Royal to the Place de Grève, filled as they were with innumerable crowds of armed men, among whom were many ill-disposed towards him and his pretensions. He was accompanied by all the deputies of the Chamber who had voted the address, and who had since published a declaration of principles to the people of France, drawn up by Constant, Bérard, Villemain, and Guizot, in which all the guarantees of public freedom were announced under the fostering ægis of the Lieutenant-General—'a Frenchman who had never fought except in the cause of France.' He advanced at the head of the procession on horseback, and was received with gratifying acclamations of *Vive le Duc d'Orleans!* On the steps of the Hôtel de Ville he was met by Lafayette and the members of the Municipal

Commission, who conducted him through a dense mass of spectators up the staircase, and into the principal saloon, the same from which Louis XVI. had shown himself in 1789, and in which Robespierre had attempted to shoot himself. Here the Declaration of the deputies was read aloud, and the duke responded to it in these words, delivered with his hand upon his heart:—‘As a Frenchman, I deplore the evil that has been done, and the blood that has been shed; as a prince, I am happy to contribute to the welfare of the nation.’ Then Lafayette led him to the window, whence, with a tricoloured flag in his hand, he saluted the immense multitude congregated on the square, the balconies, and the roofs of the surrounding houses. Vociferous shouts of *Vive d’Orleans! Vive Lafayette!* resounded; and in the joyous excitement of the moment the general exclaimed, ‘This is the best of republics!’ But Dubourg rudely approached the prince, and said to him, as he pointed to the people below, ‘You know our wants and our rights; if you forget them, we will remind you of them.’ ‘General,’ the prince replied with dignity, ‘if you knew me better, you would be aware that I have no need of fear to be faithful to my oaths: I am a man of honour, and when I promise, I keep my word.’ A burst of applause greeted this appropriate rebuke, and the imposing scene was closed by the Lieutenant-General returning to his palace in the same order he had come from it, followed by the tumultuous cries of the teeming myriads.

With this popular installation of the Duke d’Orleans the functions of the provisional government necessarily ceased, and it accordingly forthwith dissolved itself. It had already nominated ministers to the different departments of the State, who were for the most part confirmed by the Lieutenant-General. These were Dupont (de l’Eure) to the ministry of justice, Baron Louis to that of finance, General Gerard to that of war, Admiral de Rigny to that of marine, M. Bignon to that of foreign affairs, M. Guizot to that of public instruction, and the Duke de Broglie to that of the interior. The three latter only were changed: Bignon being transferred to the department of public instruction, and Guizot superseding Broglie as minister of the interior. Marshal Jourdan was named minister of foreign affairs in the place of Bignon. Lafayette, however, still continued to exercise a species of military dictatorship at the Hôtel de Ville; and it was he who directed the inundation of National Guards and populace on Rambouillet, which scared Charles X. into a precipitate flight, and left the government free to be settled without the embarrassment of his presence, and without the more dangerous hazard of a civil war. Although the old king had abdicated on the express condition of his grandson being recognised as his successor, and although the Duke of Orleans had probably at first contemplated nothing more than a regency, this abdication was inconsistent

with the principle of the national sovereignty held to be re-established by the Revolution; and it was consequently regarded as of no account, since the dynasty had been already subverted by the supreme fiat of the authorities of the Hôtel de Ville.

On the 3d of August, the day originally named for their convocation by Charles X., the Chambers were opened by the Lieutenant-General in person. The speech he delivered on this occasion was one admirably suited to the circumstances of the moment. He extolled the heroic efforts of the Parisians in vindicating their liberties from a deplorable infraction, and in resisting a violation of the Charter, which had been the rallying-cry during the combat, and continued so after the victory. For the defence of this Charter he had himself stepped forward, coming into the midst of Paris with his family, and assuming the colours which had once more signalised the triumph of liberty. He regretted the past, but had confidence in the future, feeling assured that France would be henceforth truly free, and show to Europe that in cherishing her own liberties she desired equally the happiness and tranquillity of her neighbours. In conclusion, he adverted to the act of abdication signed by Charles X. and the dauphin, which he conceived it his duty to transmit to the Chambers immediately after their constitution. Vehement applause greeted his words, and the sitting was terminated amidst an enthusiastic outburst of feeling.

Notwithstanding this apparent unanimity, the definitive settlement of a new government was a subject of great doubt and difficulty. Various combinations were canvassed, and each had numerous partisans. The Republicans were a formidable party, not from their strength, which was comparatively insignificant, but from their unscrupulous arts and manœuvres. Knowing well the weakness of Lafayette, they were aware that if they could thrust him forward as a rival of the Duke of Orleans, he was sure to become their own eventual tool, to be used as long as he was necessary, and then cast aside when they could act more decisively for their own purposes. Consequently, as they had failed to induce him to declare in favour of a republic, with himself at the head of it as president, their anxiety was directed to prevent the establishment of a government which gave promise of stability; and with this view they propounded two schemes of very opposite natures. The first was, that the Duke de Bordeaux should be proclaimed king, the Duke d'Orleans continuing to hold the office of Lieutenant-General, but that Lafayette should be regent and commander of the forces—an arrangement which must necessarily have soon produced a fresh collision of powers. The second was, that the Duke of Reichstadt should be proclaimed emperor, with Lafayette as regent. Both of these propositions were well designed to promote the views of the Republi-

cans, whose interest lay in distraction and controversy, since each enlisted numerous supporters; the Royalists being captivated by the idea of Henry V. as king, the Bonapartists by the ultimate prospect of having restored to them the son of Napoleon. The great skill and address of the Duke d'Orleans alone prevented perhaps these insidious schemes from working all the mischief they were intended to provoke. He devoted himself assiduously to attach to him the principal master of the hour—Lafayette; and succeeded the more easily, because the general entertained a natural distrust of the Republican leaders, and had a clearer perception of their ulterior designs than they gave him credit for. Although of Republican tendencies, Lafayette was by no means desirous of levelling all the orders of society, and retained his original bias in favour of a constitution with a king at its head; hence he was charmed with the language of the Lieutenant-General when he spoke to him of 'a monarchy surrounded by Republican institutions,' since it seemed to fulfil all the dreams of his life; and he vowed to co-operate heartily in its realisation. Having thus gained and effectually neutralised Lafayette, the Duke d'Orleans sought also to win even the Republicans themselves; and by the intervention of Thiers, he had an interview with some of their leaders, young, ardent, and inexperienced men—Cavaignac, Bastide, Thomas, and others—who talked in the wild and foolish strain usual with heated and presumptuous youths. The duke treated them with courtesy and dignified forbearance, condescending even to reciprocate a reminiscence of Cavaignac, that his father had sat in the Convention and voted for the death of the king. He made little impression, however, upon their unfashioned minds, and dismissed them, still inflated with their impracticable conceits, but considerably daunted by the consciousness that they had been in conclave with a man ineffably superior to themselves.

It was fortunate, indeed, in this critical conjuncture, when the slightest untoward incident might have led to incalculable calamities, that France found not only an accomplished prince to put himself at the head of her affairs, whose previous life was replete with so many popular recommendations, but had ready a newly-elected legislature, combining the essential conditions to secure it a national confidence and respect. This was the Chamber of Deputies, against which the *coup d'état* of the late government had been originally levelled. It contained within it all the men who had gained eminence for liberal opinions in the parliamentary struggle of the last fifteen years, and had claims on the gratitude even of the conquerors of July, which they could scarcely venture to repudiate. Hence, although the Republicans clamoured for a new Constituent Assembly, to be chosen by the primary Assemblies of the Revolution, by an almost universal

consent the Chamber of Deputies was held to be invested with the capacity to frame a new constitution for France, and this the more strongly from the urgent necessity for establishing a definitive government. Moreover, in the form of this constitution little latitude of choice was left, since the victory having been won in the name of the Charter, it only remained to insure the better observance of that compact for the future, to fence it round with firmer guarantees, and to amplify its benefits by enlarging its scope. Such was the task that devolved on the deputies, and to the exclusion of the peers, who could not be ranked as representatives of the nation, and whose future existence was both uncertain and precarious. All the popular acts of the Upper Chamber during the Restoration were at the time forgotten, and its right to co-operate in the revision of the Charter was denied. Therefore a legitimate constituent body being recognised, the principal difficulties were removed, and under the pressing exigencies of the case, it simply behoved the Chamber of Deputies to execute its task with all the rapidity the gravity of such a labour would permit.

Upon a scrutiny for the election of president of the Chamber, Casimir-Perier had the greatest number of votes, and his nomination was approved by the Lieutenant-General. A Commission was appointed from all the bureaux to prepare a report on the modifications to be introduced into the Charter, and to which a detailed proposition on the subject submitted by M. Berard was referred. Meanwhile great agitation prevailed throughout Paris touching this new Charter in preparation. Emissaries from the clubs, which had sprung up in every quarter of the capital, sought to inflame the people by reports that all the consequences of their victory were about to be snatched from them; that priests were still to remain in the ascendant; that a hereditary peerage was to be preserved; and that, in short, the continuance of privilege, and not the reign of equality, was to be the fruit of the Revolution. Several journals also indulged in manifestoes on these stirring topics, and soon a fermentation was produced, which grew rapidly to an alarming height. It failed not to extend to the students of the Polytechnic School, who eagerly joined in the fray, and were followed by the equally turbulent students of the medical and law schools. During the whole of the 6th, excited groups collected, as usual, in the streets and squares, and towards evening moved in the direction of the Palais-Bourbon, in which the deputies held their sittings. The students headed and marshalled these riotous assemblages, whose cry was, *Down with the Chamber of Peers! Down with hereditary right! Away with privileges!* The Chamber had just assembled for its evening diet, and Laffitte, one of the vice-presidents, occupied the chair. The noise of the approaching masses was heard, and sinister rumours were cir-

culated as to the intentions of the insurgents. It was said that their vengeance was directed against the deputies, whom they had sworn to throw into the Seine. In a few moments the crowd was on the steps of the building, and threatened to invade the hall of sitting. Deep and fearful yells escaped from it. *The Chamber of Deputies is betraying us!* resounded in the ears of the terrified representatives. Several deputies went out to calm the tumult, but they were unfavourably received, and returned with dismay on their countenances. At length Lafayette and Benjamin Constant were induced to go forth, and at sight of the former the rioters uttered shouts of joy and congratulation. Lafayette essayed to soothe them by endearing appellations. 'My good friends, my dear friends,' he said, 'I beg you to retire, and not by violence to injure the patriotic cause.' They answered him with renewed shouts of *A bas l'hérédité! We are betrayed!* He assured them that the hereditary privilege of the peers should be abolished; that they should be curtailed in number; that a new election of deputies should be shortly made; and that the other demands urged by the more froward and clamorous among them should in like manner be granted. With these assurances the students expressed themselves partially satisfied for the time; and having thus dictated to the legislators of their country, they slowly withdrew their belligerent bands. Assuredly there is no spectacle so deplorable in the domestic revolutions of France as the overweening influence exercised by mere striplings, scarcely escaped from the ferule of the schoolmaster, heated with the blind passions of irreflective youth, animated certainly by the generous emotions natural to their age, but too often prompted by the evil suggestions of anarchists, who have used them as instruments to their own nefarious ends.

Lafayette returned to his colleagues, and intimated to them the conditions upon which he had saved them from the anger of their besiegers. The announcement was received with a mournful silence; but there was a general cry immediately afterwards that all this danger sprung from the provisional state of things, and that the government must be definitively settled without a moment's delay. In consequence, the report of the Commission on the Charter was vociferously called for, and it was resolved that the Chamber should sit in permanence until it was rendered. Thus urged to expedition, at ten at night the Commission, through M. Dupin, presented its report, which, on the motion of Guizot, was ordered to be printed, distributed among the members, and taken into consideration at ten o'clock the next morning, to which early hour the Chamber accordingly adjourned.

Early, however, as that hour was, by one of those strange proceedings which are common in the transition eras of French

revolutionary history, Laffitte and about sixty members appeared in the hall shortly after eight, two hours earlier, and the sitting was commenced at half-past eight. Not a single reporter was present, and all the public galleries were empty. MM. Demarçay and Cormenin protested against a sovereignty being exercised thus furtively, and asked bitterly what sort of a king was to be made by this stolen march? Despite these taunts, the discussion was forthwith opened, and the first article, which declared the throne vacant as a consequence of the events of the 26th, 27th, 28th, and 29th of July, and the withdrawal of Charles X. and all the members of the elder branch of the royal family from the kingdom, was carried after the mere semblance of a debate. Such was the speed used, indeed, in the consideration of this important organic measure, that in less than seven hours the whole of the modifications recommended in the Charter of 1814 were adopted, including the last and most momentous of the resolutions, by which it was declared that 'the present and universal interest of the French people calls to the throne his Royal Highness Louis-Philippe d'Orleans, Duke of Orleans, Lieutenant-General of the kingdom, and his descendants in perpetuity from male to male, by order of primogeniture, and to the perpetual exclusion of females and their descendants.' The final vote upon the whole measure gave as a result 219 white balls against 33, the number of voters being 252. Immediately after it was declared, all the members rose and proceeded in a procession of four abreast to the Palais-Royal, headed by M. Laffitte. The Duke of Orleans was ready to receive them; and after hearing the resolutions read, accepted in a short and affecting speech the high dignity they proffered him. He referred to the pain with which he tore himself from the pleasures of the domestic life he had hitherto enjoyed, but to the obligation he owed in duty to his country he bowed. He accepted the office at their hands as the exponents of the national will, and as tendered in conformity to the principles he had professed all his life. Having thus elevated a monarch to the vacant throne, the deputies saluted with reverence the object of their choice, who returned with affability and dignity the grateful homage of his new subjects, and they retired from his presence with mingled emotions of pride and satisfaction.

Although this nomination of Louis-Philippe d'Orleans to be King of the French seemed thus marked by precipitation, it was not in reality so, but was the result of profound reflection and anxious deliberation. The considerations weighing with the prince himself had reference both to his delicate position with regard to the elder branch of his family, and to the effect that might be produced on the relations of France with foreign powers. He was open to an imputation of treachery on the part of Charles X., if

he took the crown the latter had resigned to his grandson, after the confidence reposed in him by the abdicated monarch, and especially after his own solemn vows of abnegation. But the imputation was quite unfounded, since it was not through the abdication of Charles X. that the crown was offered him, but the throne being declared vacant, he was asked by the representatives of the nation to fill it, and he must either do so, or become himself in all probability likewise an exile. His situation was completely changed since his first assumption of the Lieutenant-Generalship, when there might be some chance of preserving the throne to the young Duke de Bordeaux; that chance was now wholly gone, or if it continued to linger, was fraught with all the dangers that were most sought to be avoided. Therefore the situation was disentangled of the elder branch altogether; and the question was open, both as to the form of the government, and as to the person in whom should be vested the headship of the executive power. This conclusion was perhaps inevitable from the first, and was very likely so contemplated by the Duke d'Orleans, who adopted the expedient and incumbent policy of identifying himself with the national movement, and so prepared the way undoubtedly for his own subsequent elevation. In this he committed no treachery; but simply obeyed the exigencies of a position he could not otherwise command; that he played his part with admirable tact was not his fault, but rather his virtue. He held the language, and did the acts, suitable to unite in his favour the discordant elements of opinion; and whether he had laboured for himself or for his infant cousin, he could not have done otherwise but to his own detriment. His frank adoption of the glorious tricolour was not with him an option, but a necessity; and if he conferred a pension on Delisle, the author of the famous hymn of the *Marseillaise*, coupled with assurances that its stirring stanzas awakened noble recollections in his heart, it was an act of policy, as judicious as it was generous. His conduct is consistent with the belief that he was quite sincere in his declarations, that he had no wish to wear the crown; and if his own conscience were more blunt to the ties of family and loyalty which bound him, he had a wife and a sister whose reproaches he durst not have provoked by a conduct stained with perfidy. These estimable women viewed his acceptance of the royal title with repugnance and apprehension; nor was it until they were both convinced that no other course remained, that they gave to it a reluctant consent. They might well be averse to forego the charms of a dignified retirement, in order to encounter the hazards of a boisterous royalty; and the alternative was not embraced until after many tears had been shed, many councils held, many scruples weighed, many expedients canvassed.

The position of France with regard to foreign powers was natu-

rally a subject of deep concern with her future ruler. Not that much danger existed of any pretension to interfere in her domestic affairs on the part of any of them: although bound by the treaties of Paris to uphold the government of the Bourbons, they were too glad to escape from so onerous an engagement, by construing it to be dependent on the observance of the Constitutional Charter of Louis XVIII., from which they were unanimous in holding Charles X. had derogated. Mindful of the deplorable error of 1792, they were well content to keep aloof from the civil broils of France, too happy if they could avoid their contagion; but still they might assume an unfriendly, if not a hostile attitude, should her new government give umbrage to them from its constitution. Hence it behoved the Duke of Orleans to sound the foreign ministers as to the light in which his accession to the throne would be viewed by the European courts, as he had no desire to render it the signal of an injurious isolation or of a devastating war. These ministers had remained in Paris during the whole of the insurrection, having in vain applied to the Prince de Polignac at its commencement touching the course they ought to adopt towards the king to whom they were accredited; and after its successful conclusion, and the abdication of Charles X., they naturally awaited fresh orders from their courts. The determination of the British government was taken instantly, and Lord Stuart de Rothsay had instructions to intimate that the new king of the French would be at once recognised by England, who had too many causes of complaint against Charles X. to care much for his downfall. Count Pozzo di Borgo, who possessed a diplomatic influence in Europe second only to that of Metternich, had a secret interview with the Duke d'Orleans, in which the latter discussed with him at large the eventualities of his acceptance of the crown. The Russian minister was prompt and decisive in his opinion. 'Accept, accept the crown,' he said; 'it is the greatest service your royal highness can render to Europe and to the cause of order and peace.' Such an opinion had naturally great weight with the prince, for, independently of the assurance it gave of the friendly sentiments of the Russian court, it served to acquit him of any charge of mere duplicity or ambition that might be brought against him. The opinions of the Austrian and Prussian ministers were equally favourable, and all concurred in recommending a speedy termination to the provisional state of affairs, which by its continuance was always a source of danger. Thus fortified and emboldened, the prince had no longer any reason to hesitate, and he formed a determinate resolution to take upon himself the perilous burthen of a revolutionary royalty.

In the universal eagerness to end the provisional, and enter upon the definitive condition of the government, the Chamber of Deputies had not waited for the concurrence of the other branch

of the legislature in its organic resolutions before carrying them into practical effect. Those resolutions were, however, communicated on the afternoon of the 7th to the Chamber of Peers, sitting at the Luxembourg under the presidency of the Baron Pasquier, whom the Lieutenant-General had substituted for the ex-chancellor Marquis de Pastoret. There were 114 peers present, and the Duc de Choiseul proposed that an immediate vote should be taken without discussion on the 'Declaration' of the deputies, as their resolutions were called; but this was overruled, and an adjournment took place until the following day. Two of the articles adopted by the deputies struck the Upper Chamber two serious blows. By the first, the hereditary character of the peerage was abolished; and by the second, all the nominations of peers made by Charles X. were annulled. These were the terms demanded by the students in their treaty with Lafayette on the steps of the Palais-Bourbon, and bitter as the conditions were, the peers were fain to agree to them. With a laudable self-sacrifice, the prescribed members of the Chamber voluntarily refrained from attending, whereby their colleagues were spared the painful necessity of formally excluding them. Talleyrand, Broglie, and Pasquier had, by private negotiations, overcome all difficulties and repugnances, and the sitting of the 8th was expected to pass over with a quiet acquiescence in the Declaration. But Chateaubriand appeared, and threw around the dying Chamber the effulgence of his brilliant oratory. His speech was one of those masterpieces which sprung so spontaneously from his extraordinary genius; and whilst abjuring the new monarchy, and throwing upon it an ineffable disdain, he visited with biting censure the infatuated ministers who had ruined the Bourbon throne, and extolled the heroism of those civic bands, of the youths who had shown themselves giants, in the victory they had won over an imbecile tyranny. He pronounced a warm eulogium on the liberty of the press, which he invoked as the only weapon now left to him as a conscientious champion of legitimacy; and such was the fervour his generous eloquence excited, even when pleading in the heart of insurrectionary Paris the cause of the fallen royalty, that all voices were joined in loud and unanimous applause. But beyond a masterly vindication of himself, he effected nothing by his oratory; the Declaration was adopted by a majority of 89 to 10, with the exception of the article as to the peers of Charles X.'s creation, upon which the Chamber declared itself incompetent to decide. Baron Pasquier immediately repaired at the head of a deputation to the Palais-Royal, where in a formal speech he communicated the adhesion of the peers to the Declaration of the deputies.

On the following day, Monday, the 9th of August, a solemn sitting of the two Chambers was held at the Palais-Bourbon. A throne was erected at the extremity of the hall, hung around with

tricoloured flag, and surmounted with a crimson canopy. In front of it were placed three chairs, designed for the king and his two eldest sons. In a gallery were seated the queen and her blooming daughters, then in the very spring-time of youth. As soon as the king entered, he uncovered, but immediately afterwards put on his hat, and desired the members of the two Chambers to resume their seats; thus departing from the etiquette of the Restoration, in which the king addressed himself to the peers only, and spoke to the deputies through the chancellor, who said to them, 'Gentlemen, the king permits that you be seated.' So sudden and unprepared was the whole scene, that the title of the new monarch was not known, and whispers ran round as to whether it was Louis XIX. or Philip VII.; but the king himself terminated the doubt by exclaiming audibly during the reading of the Declaration, LOUIS-PHILIPPE, and by that name he was vociferously saluted. Casimir-Perier read the Declaration in a clear and firm voice, and was followed by Pasquier with the Act of Adhesion on the part of the peers. Then the king arose and thus spoke:—

'Gentlemen Peers and Deputies—I have read with deep attention the Declaration of the Chamber of Deputies, and the Act of Adhesion of the Chamber of Peers; I have weighed and meditated all its expressions. I accept without restriction or reserve the clauses and engagements which this Declaration contains, and the title of King of the French which it confers on me, and I am ready to swear their due observance.'

Dupont de l'Eure, keeper of the seals, handed him the formula of the oath, and he pronounced it with a touching emphasis. 'In the presence of God I swear to observe faithfully the Constitutional Charter, with the changes and modifications set forth in the Declaration of the Chamber of Deputies; to govern only by the laws, and according to the laws; to cause fair and exact justice to be rendered to every one according to his right; and to act in all things solely with a view to the interest, the welfare, and the glory of the French people.' Such was the oath taken by King Louis-Philippe on the great day of his inauguration.

The chair of the king was removed and placed on the throne, to which he ascended after signing in triplicate the Declaration and his own oath. Four marshals stood on the steps, holding severally the sceptre, the crown, the sword, and the hand of justice, the symbols of sovereignty. From the throne he again spoke, saying with an earnest but unembarrassed mien: 'I have just consecrated a great act. I am profoundly sensible of all the extent of the duties it imposes on me. I feel conscious that I will fulfil them. It is with full confidence that I have accepted the compact proposed to me. I was extremely desirous of never occupying the throne to which the national wish has called me; the

violation of the Charter overthrew all, and it was necessary to restore the action of the laws, for which it was the function of the Chambers to provide. You have done so, gentlemen; the prudent modifications you have introduced into the Charter guarantee the security of the future, and France, I trust, will be happy at home, and respected abroad, and the peace of Europe will be more and more assured.' These words were responded to with renewed plaudits, and with reiterated cries of *Vive Louis-Philippe!* An immense concourse of people was outside awaiting his return to the Palais-Royal, and he was accompanied by enthusiastic shouts of joy and attachment. Bands played throughout the procession the national hymn of the *Marseillaise*, tri-coloured banners waved from every window, cannons vomited their deafening roar, and all was high jubilee as he passed smiling on his way this Citizen King of the Barricades.

Thus was consummated the closing act of the Revolution of 1830, forming in its final catastrophe a close parody on the Revolution of 1688, since even the Bill of Rights found its fellow in the famous Declaration of the Chamber of Deputies. The prince thus elevated to the throne of France was one of the most remarkable men that have appeared in any age or country. As the eldest son of the sixth Duke d'Orleans in descent from Monsieur, the brother of Louis XIV., he enjoyed the title under the old régime of the Duke de Chartres. He stood in the direct line from Henry IV., and had as a common ancestor with the elder branch of the Bourbons the weak and unfortunate son of that popular monarch, Louis XIII. Notwithstanding the deplorable vices of his father, the too-notorious *Egalité*, he received a careful education; and under the tuition of Madame de Genlis, imbibed all the liberal ideas which marked the philosophical era of the eighteenth century. At the outbreak of the Revolution in 1789, he was in his sixteenth year, and with all the ardour of youth he embraced its generous principles. In the ferment of that extraordinary period, when all rushed headlong into the revolutionary vortex, it was difficult for him, with the examples around him, to resist the universal impulse; yet even at that time he was distinguished for a prudent, modest, and sober deportment, which placed him in striking contrast with his unhappy parent. Unsullied by any of the crimes of the Revolution, he joined the standard of Dumouriez in 1792, and was present at both the battles of Valmy and Jemmappes, the latter of which he assisted in a great measure to gain. At this time he professed all the Republican doctrines of the day, and laying aside his hereditary title, assumed the appellation of '*Egalité the younger*.' But the atrocities of the Jacobins soon opened his eyes to the merits of French Republicanism, and to save his life, he joined Dumouriez in his flight to the Austrian head-quarters, where he was very coldly

received. He subsequently repaired to Switzerland, almost the only neutral country in Europe; and there, being destitute of other means of existence, he nobly sought a livelihood by teaching languages and mathematics in the college of Reichenau. In this obscure situation he passed under the English name of Corby; but the disguise failed to shield him from the suspicious observation of the French agents, and he was induced to consult his personal safety by taking refuge in Sweden, in which country he travelled to the very extremity of Lapland. Some small pecuniary means were at his disposal at this period, and, as has been previously stated, upon the invitation of the Directory he left Sweden for America, the greater part of the northern continent of which he traversed with his brothers Montpensier and Beaujolais. After the lapse of some years thus spent in exploring the wonders of the new world, and in studying the habits and institutions of the people who were then only in the cradle of their greatness, he returned to Europe, and sought an asylum in England, which had become the only spot of Europe where a political refugee could hope to find a secure shelter. Here he became reconciled to the two princes of the elder branch of his family, who bore against him a bitter repugnance from his previous associations; and here also he lost his eldest brother, who died of consumption in 1807. His youngest brother Beaujolais, having evinced symptoms of the same fatal complaint, he removed with him to Malta for the benefit of a milder climate—but too late. The young prince died in May 1808, to the inexpressible grief of the melancholy and stricken exile. After this bereavement, he had only his sister Adelaide left of all his father's family; and she, after undergoing many singular hardships and privations, was at that time residing in Messina, under the protection of the Bourbons of Naples. Thither he repaired to see her, for a very tender attachment united them in fraternal love, which their misfortunes and deprivations tended naturally to increase. From Messina he accompanied Prince Leopold of Naples to Gibraltar, with the view of aiding Ferdinand in his resistance to Napoleon; but this heroic purpose was defeated by the perfidies of Bayonne, which transferred the Spanish prince to the custody of the Imperial oppressor. Upon his return from this abortive expedition, he succeeded in obtaining the hand of the Princess Maria-Amelia, daughter of the king of Naples, whose dominions were then reduced to the island of Sicily, which he was enabled to hold only by the naval protection of England. Subsequently, he sought an opportunity of distinguishing himself in the Spanish war of independence; but his endeavours were not encouraged either by the Junta of Cadiz or by the British general, and he was, fortunately for himself, constrained to abandon his chivalric purpose. It would have marred his pretensions in 1820 if he had ever borne

arms against the eagles of France, even in the holiest of causes; and it was better that he awaited in peaceable retirement at Palermo the advent of the Restoration, which replaced him in the rank and position of a French prince, and restored him to his long-lost country.

Such were the extraordinary vicissitudes through which Louis-Philippe d'Orleans had passed in his way to the throne of France. The son of the wealthiest but most dissolute prince of his age, he had been reduced to the extremity of poverty, and in a foreign country been compelled to earn his bread by the exercise of talents he had cultivated simply for the adornment of his high station. Over many lands he had travelled, ever a close and intelligent observer; and had reaped the fruits of an experience as varied as perhaps ever fell to the lot of any mortal. In all his struggles and adversities he had borne an honourable character, nor had the least taint been breathed by calumny itself against his fair reputation. After his restoration to his hereditary wealth and dignity, he displayed all the prudence and discretion which were required from him in a very delicate position. He abstained from active participation in any political controversies; and although he kept up an intercourse with the leaders of the Liberal party, and was always regarded as more or less associated with them, he never assumed an attitude in the least degree offensive to the government either of Louis XVIII. or of Charles X., with the latter of whom, indeed, he lived on terms of almost friendly intimacy. He passed great part of his time at Neuilly, a charming retreat a few miles from Paris, where he enjoyed the most exquisite of blessings in the society of an amiable and beloved wife, and of his much-cherished sister. His union with the Princess of Naples had been crowned with a fruitful issue, and at the time of his accession to the throne he had a progeny of no less than five sons and three daughters. Three of these had been born at Palermo, two at Paris, and three at Neuilly. The sons were the Duke de Chartres (by the elevation of his father become Duke d'Orleans), born in 1810; the Duke de Nemours, born in 1814; the Prince de Joinville, born in 1818; the Duke d'Aumale, born in 1822; the Duke de Montpensier, born in 1824. The three daughters, Louisa, Maria-Christina, and Maria-Clementina-Caroline, were born in 1812, 1813, and 1817, and were distinguished by the titles respectively of Mademoiselles D'Orleans, De Valois, and De Beaujolais. These children were all remarkable for great personal beauty, and rarely has a monarch been surrounded by such numerous and brilliant props to sustain and adorn his throne.

The government of which Louis-Philippe had become the head, was based upon the Charter of 1814 granted by Louis XVIII. of his sovereign will and pleasure, and which had been modified both by royal ordinances and by acts of the legislature during

the two previous reigns. But whilst this Charter was taken as the basis of the new constitution developed for France, its character was essentially changed from the one impressed upon it by Louis XVIII. It was no longer a concession granted, but a right exercised and a compact enjoined. It proceeded on the principle of the sovereignty of the nation, and was promulgated in the name of the king and the two Chambers of Peers and Deputies. The alterations it introduced were very considerable doubtless, but not so violently democratical as might, under the circumstances, have been expected. The chief among them were as to the Chamber of Peers—that for the future the king should have the power of nominating to the peerage only men recommended by a series of services in the various departments of the State and administration, the members of the four Academies, manufacturers, merchants, and bankers paying 3000 francs of yearly taxes, after being six years members of a council-general or a chamber of commerce, or having been named deputies or judges of a tribunal of commerce. The dignity was to be conferred for life only, and was not transmissible to heirs. No pension, allowance, or dotation was hereafter to be attached to the peerage, and no member could sit in the Chamber before he was twenty-five years of age, or exercise the privilege of voting until he had completed his thirtieth year. The princes of the blood were peers by right of birth; and over the deliberations of the Chamber the chancellor of France presided, or in his absence a peer nominated by the king.

As to the Chamber of Deputies, it was to be elected henceforth for five years, and each member was to be at least thirty years old. Freedom from arrest was secured to the members during the continuance of each session, and for six weeks before and after it. The provisions touching the elections were not embodied in the Charter, but were made the subject of a law finally passed on the 19th April 1831. By this law the number of the deputies was in future fixed at 459, distributed among the eighty-six departments according to their extent and population. The qualification of electors was to be payment of 200 francs in direct taxes yearly, and the completion of twenty-five years from birth. The elections were to be made direct in electoral colleges assembled by arrondissement, and the presidents of these colleges were to be chosen by the electors. The electoral lists were to be revised and published every year, and minute precautions were prescribed to prevent frauds in their composition. The qualification of a deputy, besides his age of thirty years, was fixed at the payment of 500 francs of direct taxes; and certain functionaries were declared ineligible, such as prefects, sub-prefects, receivers-general, &c. The Chamber was to be convoked at least once a year, and no taxes could be imposed or levied without its concurrence. No salary or allowance was attached to the office of deputy. The

ministers of the crown might sit as members; but whether members or not, they were entitled to be heard whenever they demanded leave to speak. Every member appointed to a place with a salary attached, vacated his seat, and required to be re-elected. Such were the principal provisions of the new electoral law which sprung out of the Revolution of 1830, and which limited the electoral body to less than 200,000 in number for a population of upwards of 30,000,000 of souls.

With regard to the press, the only articles respecting it in the Charter were a declaration of the right of every Frenchman to publish his opinions, if not in contravention of the law, and of the censorship being for ever abolished. But in the subsequent session a law was passed regulating this difficult subject of the press, in which, beyond the deposit of caution-money, and the registration of proprietors and editors, no restriction was imposed on the free publication of all journals and other writings. For seditious articles, libels, or other offences against the laws, trial by jury was in all instances to be observed, except in cases of contumacy, which the presidents of the Courts of Assize were empowered to adjudicate upon without the intervention of a jury. The deposit required was very considerable, nevertheless, being an inscription of *rentes* to the extent of 2400 francs (£96 sterling) for all papers published oftener than twice a week, three-fourths of that amount for publications appearing only twice a week, half for weekly periodicals, and a fourth for monthly. Provincial journals were required to make a deposit of 800 francs (£32) of *rentes* in towns containing 50,000 inhabitants and upwards; and of 500 francs in towns of less magnitude, if they were published daily; and half those amounts respectively if they appeared at more distant intervals. To establish a daily paper in the metropolis, therefore, it was requisite that the undertakers of the enterprise should sink, as it were, a capital of £1500 or £2000, according to the market value of *rentes* at the time, to be answerable for any fines they might subsequently incur. For semi-weekly and weekly journals, the capital required was proportionately less; but such heavy deposits must necessarily be a serious drawback to the multiplication of journals, whether political, literary, or scientific. In addition, they were subject to a stamp duty of six centimes for each sheet of a certain size, and of three centimes for each separate half sheet. Thus it must be confessed that if the press received substantial guarantees for its practical freedom against oppressive thralldom, its extension or popularisation was clearly not an object or a consequence of the Revolution of July.

As the domestic institutions of France received their definitive development at this period of her history, matured as they had become in the crucibles of her different governments since 1789,

it is fitting they should be here reviewed, in order to the elucidation of many topics which might otherwise be obscure to the apprehension. And first as to the administrative organisation, which was of a complex, but highly efficient character. France being limited to the territory she embraced in 1790, remained divided into the eighty-six departments originally parcelled out by the National Assembly at the instance of Sieyès, whose glory it was to have first conceived the idea of those advantageous circumscriptions. They answer to the counties of Great Britain, except that they are more equal in size, and more apportioned to the natural divisions of the soil. Their names were generally derived from the principal features of their landscapes, whether rivers or chains of mountains. They were subdivided into arrondissements or circles, of which there were in the whole 363, which were again subdivided into cantons, of which there were 2834, which underwent the last subdivision into communes, of which there were in the whole kingdom no less than 37,234. At the head of each department was placed a prefect, who was the supreme executive magistrate within his jurisdiction. He was appointed by the king, and had a salary varying from 40,000 francs to 10,000, according to the extent and population of his department. In the exercise of his functions he was assisted by councillors of prefecture, who were all likewise nominated by the crown. Once a year, or oftener, if necessary, he convoked a council-general, the members of which were elected in the cantons, one for each, by the parliamentary electors and by the persons inscribed on the jury-lists. These members required to be twenty-five years of age, and must likewise have paid for at least a year 200 francs of direct taxes in the department. The functions of the council-general were to audit the accounts of the prefect, to vote the budget of the department, to assess the direct taxes upon localities, to decide upon the formation of public roads, and to transact other business relative to the department. They were not allowed to pass any resolutions out of the strict line of their duties, and they could be dissolved by the minister or prefect if they attempted to transgress those confined limits. They were elected for nine years, but were renewable by a third every three years. Beneath the prefect were the sub-prefects, generally one to each arrondissement, who enjoyed salaries of 4000 francs each, and were also appointed by the government. To each sub-prefecture were attached councillors of arrondissement, nominated by the government, and councils of arrondissement whose members were chosen in the cantons precisely in the same manner as the members of the councils-general, only their qualification was reduced to the payment of 150 francs of yearly taxes. At the head of each canton was a *juge de paix*, or justice of the peace, who, besides his administrative functions, decided civil disputes

of small amount, and arbitrated in petty differences between neighbours. These *juges de paix* were all nominated by the crown, as were likewise the mayors of the communes and their adjuncts, who stood lowest in the scale of this administrative hierarchy. But they must have been chosen as members of the municipal council, which was assigned to each commune, and which consisted of from ten members to thirty-six, according to the population. The members of the municipal council were elected by the notabilities of the commune, including all the departmental electors, officers of the National Guard, doctors, surgeons, lawyers, members and correspondents of the Academy, and the highest-taxed citizens, who were to form at least one-tenth of the inhabitants in communes containing 1000 souls and less, with 5 per cent. additional for populations up to 5000, 4 per cent. up to 15,000, and 3 per cent. for all above 15,000. The functions of the municipal councils were strictly local and administrative, not partaking in the slightest degree of a political character; and they might be dissolved at any moment by the king at the instance of the prefect. They sat four times in the year in ordinary session for ten days at a time; and they might be convoked by the prefect for extraordinary sessions upon the special application of the mayor or his adjuncts. Such was the constitution of the department as finally manipulated after the Revolution of 1830.

For the State at large was the Council of State—an institution devised by Sieyès in the Constitution of the year VIII., and invested by Napoleon under the Consulate with extraordinary powers. It was composed, for ordinary service, of thirty councillors, thirty masters of requests, and twenty-four auditors. Its general meetings were presided over by the keeper of the seals, and they generally took place in the presence of the king, who was seated on a throne placed behind the president. For working purposes it was divided into five principal committees:—1st, Of legislation, for the discussion and framing of projects of law; 2^{dly}, Of war and marine; 3^{dly}, Of the interior and public instruction; 4^{thly}, Of commerce, agriculture, and public works; 5^{thly}, Of finance. The ministers of the respective departments presided over these committees, in which all the more executory and administrative affairs of the government were deliberated and decided upon, and upon whose reports the royal ordinances were generally founded. Besides these five committees, there was a sixth, devoted exclusively to matters of administrative litigation occurring between rival functionaries, or between individuals and public officers, the merits whereof it investigated, and gave upon them a final decision, from which there was no appeal. The ministers and councillors of State alone deliberated and voted on measures submitted to the council; the masters of requests simply gave their opinions when asked for them; and the audi-

tors attended the committees merely in the capacity of listeners, unless when they had been employed to draw up reports, which they were permitted to explain and support. The councillors of State had each a salary of 12,000 francs, and the masters of requests one of 6000; the auditors received no pay, being, as it were, on their apprenticeship; nevertheless the appointment was much coveted by young advocates, who thus got themselves on the sure road of promotion—first to be masters of requests, and then councillors of State themselves.

The council or cabinet of ministers was quite distinct from the Council of State. This consisted of nine ministers, who formed the responsible advisers of the crown. To each was assigned a principal department of the government, of which they were collectively the body and the expression. These were all men necessarily of the highest political importance, and could owe to that influence only their elevated position. Although nominated by the king, they were in reality dependent on the majority of the Chamber of Deputies, and must possess the confidence of that body, or withdraw from the royal councils, according to the approved theory of constitutional monarchies. Independently of magnificent hotels appropriated to the several ministries, these eminent personages all enjoyed appointments of 120,000 francs each, with the exception of the minister of foreign affairs, who, from the greater expenditure entailed upon him in diplomatic entertainments, was allowed a salary of 150,000 francs. Each of the ministers had under him numerous directors-general and secretaries-general, whose several salaries varied from 40,000 to 50,000 francs. The extent of patronage exercised by them was enormous, for never was such a swarm of functionaries known to exist under any government as under the French in every phase of its manifold mutations.

II. The judicial organization was vast and cumbrous, but singularly effective for the satisfactory and speedy administration of justice. The admirable arrangement of the laws into codes, which was the magnificent work of Napoleon, facilitated and simplified their application in an extraordinary manner. These codes were six in number, and each contained within itself the entire law applicable to its title, set forth in clear, precise, and scientific form. They were the Civil Code, the Code of Civil Procedure, the Code of Commerce, the Code of Criminal Prosecution, the Penal Code, and the Forest Code. Not since the days of Justinian has any country possessed so perfect a system of jurisprudence as the French in these codes, which are disentangled of all the rubbish accumulated through the darkness of ages, and afford to forensic arguments a higher scope and play, since there is no room allowed for contemptible quibbles and subtleties, which form the staple elements of pleading in British courts of

justice. The supreme court in France was the Court of Cassation, being exclusively a court of appeal. It consisted of forty-eight judges, divided into three chambers of sixteen each, with separate and defined jurisdictions, called respectively the Chamber of Requests, the Civil Chamber, and the Criminal Chamber. From time to time the judges of these different sections were intermingled as determined by ballot, and they elected their several presidents for three years. The appeals to the Court of Cassation were never on matters of fact, but solely touching the interpretation of the law, and as to conflicts of jurisdiction between inferior courts. In cases where new trials were directed, it always remitted them, not to the court in which the cause had been first decided, but to another court of equal rank. The judges of this supreme court had each a salary of 20,000 francs (£800), the first president having 10,000 francs additional, and each of the sectional presidents 5000 francs additional; the government-commissary attached to the court had likewise a salary of 25,000 francs. The Court of Accounts (*Cour des Comptes*) stood next in dignity to the Court of Cassation, and consisted of a first president, three puisne presidents, eighteen masters of accounts, and an unlimited number of referendaries, with a procureur-general and a chief-registrar (*greffier-en-chef*). The functions of this court had reference exclusively to the public accounts not only of the State, but also of the departments and communes, of receivers-general, and of all administrators, civil and military, through whose hands any public monies passed. These accounts had all to be deposited with its registrar, and examined by the referendaries, who made minute reports upon them. All disputes, furthermore, arising out of fiscal matters, whether between functionaries or between individuals and public officers, fell naturally to the cognisance of this court. The first president had an income of 30,000 francs, the other presidents each 20,000, the procureur-general 20,000, the masters of accounts 13,000, the referendaries of the first class 6000, and those of the second class 2400. Of these latter officers there were usually between 80 and 100 belonging to the Court of Accounts. Such was the scale upon which this peculiar tribunal was established by Napoleon in 1807; and it still remained substantially in the same flourishing condition—ample in its dignities, rich in its appointments, and all-pervading in its jurisdiction.

The Royal Courts formed the principal practical judicatories of the country. They were twenty-seven in number, and sat in the chief towns of the kingdom. The judges belonging to them were very numerous, that of Paris alone having fifty attached to it, and the whole number amounting to between 800 and 900. They were divided into separate chambers, to one of which were assigned the functions of the English grand-jury—namely, to

determine upon the trial of bills of indictment. The others were for the adjudication of civil and criminal cases brought before them on appeal, as no original suit or indictment could be tried before them. Out of these Royal Courts were formed the Cours d'Assize, or Assize Courts, which were held every three months in all the principal towns for the trial of criminals. In the latter, the jury was an important feature, taken from the English law, but without the senseless rule of demanding unanimity in its findings. A majority was sufficient to convict a prisoner; but the judges might grant a new trial in cases of a close division, or even direct an acquittal if a majority of them coincided with the minority of the jury. It is only in criminal cases that the jury has been introduced into France, and it will probably never be applied to the trial of civil causes. The presidents of the Royal Courts had salaries varying from 20,000 francs to less than 10,000, according to the populations within their jurisdictions; the inferior judges, or councillors, as they were called, having minor appointments ranging from 10,000 to 2000 francs (£400 to £80). In addition to the actual judges were auditor-councillors, who occasionally assisted in trials when of the requisite age; and to every Royal Court was attached a procureur-general, who executed the office of a public prosecutor.

Next in rotation stood the Tribunals of First Instance (Tribunaux de Premiere Instance), which were nearly as numerous as the arrondissements, and comprised nearly 3000 administrators of justice, enjoying allowances from the State varying from 5000 francs to 2000. These were formed of judges and substitute-judges, differing in number according to the population of the localities, never exceeding twelve except in Paris, and they were divided into chambers for the quicker despatch of business. In these courts all actions must be first brought, and their judgment was final in cases where the sum in dispute did not exceed 1500 francs (£60), or the property contested was not of greater yearly value than 60 francs (£2, 8s. 0d.). The Courts of Correctional Police were branches of these Tribunals of First Instance, and they had immediate cognisance of all offences falling short of capital crimes, and could inflict fines, and sentence to terms of imprisonment extending to five years.

Lowest in the grade of judicial functionaries was the humble but inestimable officer known as the *juge de paix*, or justice of the peace. He was a very different person from the fox-hunting squire in England, who, under the same appellation, but without the smallest prior legal instruction, is intrusted with the administration of the law among his neighbours, and who is principally occupied in sending peasants to jail for infractions of the iniquitous game-laws, the fitting adjunct of the yet more iniquitous corn-laws. The duties of the French justice were of a much

nobler, more wholesome, and more beneficial character, being directed to the reconciliation of differences among the people of his district, hearing and adjudicating their petty complaints at a very small cost, and giving definitive judgment in disputes not exceeding 50 francs or £2 sterling in amount. All intending litigants were required first to make an attempt at a settlement of their controversies before this justice of the peace, who mediated between them, and dismissed them to wage their warfare only when he failed to smooth them to a peaceful compromise. This invaluable functionary sat in every canton of France, and enjoyed the same salary as the judges of the Tribunal of First Instance, which varied according to circumstances. It may with truth be said that he was the means of bringing justice home to the door of every man, and especially of the poor and weakly, of whom he was the natural guardian and protector. Yet he, of all the judges appointed by the king, was alone removable from office, according to a provision of the Charter of 1830, which expressly provided for the irremovability of all judicial functionaries owing their nomination to the crown.

Tribunals of Commerce for the summary determination of matters relative to trade were established in all the towns of France of the least consequence, the judges of which varied in number from two to fourteen. Their jurisdiction extended to questions of indefinite amount, but their decisions were final only in cases where the principal sum in dispute did not exceed 1500 francs (£60), or where the parties had previously agreed to accept their judgments as definitive. The judges were chosen in assemblies of the notable traders in each town, and were commercial men of eminence, recommended by their standing in the commercial community, their probity, and their talents. The appointment was purely honorary, the members of the Tribunal receiving no salaries for the performance of their duties.

III. The ecclesiastical establishment of France naturally partook the same hierarchical character as the administrative and judicial organizations. The old feudal Church, one of the standing scandals of Christianity in Europe, had been utterly swept away, and there were no more lordly prelates lounging in sumptuous palaces, wallowing in a hideous magnificence, cringing in the vestibules of the court to gain more lucre, more pelf, and yet venturing to call themselves the ministers of the meek and humble Saviour, who had said in his Divine tongue: 'And I say unto you, It is easier for a camel to go through the eye of a needle, than for a rich man to enter into the kingdom of God.' Yes, that national iniquity was gone, and all the enormous property accumulated under its unhallowed wing had been diverted into refreshing channels, and distributed among a thriving and happy peasantry. In its down-

fall, however, it crushed religion itself under its ruins, so odious had it made by its vices the purest of creeds; and it was the most difficult of all the mighty tasks imposed upon Napoleon under the Consulate, to restore religion again among the benighted Republicans. By his Concordat with the Pope, however, he succeeded in re-establishing the Catholic Church in France upon an entirely new basis, making it dependent solely upon the State for the maintenance of its ministers. Under the Restoration, and particularly under the reign of Charles X., this church had again attempted to play a political part, and to grasp power and wealth; but it had only thereby incurred for itself the hatred of the nation, and damaged the cause of royalty by its ambition and cupidity. Under the Charter of 1830 it was still preserved, an express article declaring that 'the ministers of the Catholic, Apostolic, and Roman religion, professed by the majority of Frenchmen, and those of other Christian creeds, shall receive stipends from the public treasury.' The State, therefore, pays the ministers of all persuasions indifferently, but the Catholic only is held to be the established Church of the country. All the ancient cathedrals and churches throughout the land were in the possession of the favoured establishment, and these the government likewise maintained in all needful repairs.

By the Concordat concluded between the Pope and Louis XVIII., forty new sees were to be erected in France beyond those created by Napoleon; but this measure was never carried into anything like full effect, from the impossibility at the time of getting the necessary funds voted by the Chamber of Deputies. Consequently there were permanently instituted only fourteen archbishops, and sixty-six bishops, some four or five of the former being generally cardinals. The inferior clergy consisted of 164 vicars-general, 660 canons, 30,177 beneficed ministers (*curés and curés desservans*), and 6184 vicars or curates. The stipend of a cardinal-archbishop was 30,000 francs, that of an archbishop 20,000, and that of a bishop 15,000 (£1200, £800, and £600 respectively). The working clergy had very poor allowances, the highest stipend of a *curé* being 1500 francs (£60), and some of them having scarcely half that sum. The entire cost of the establishment to the State, including grants to seminaries, aids to missionaries, the repairs of churches, the maintenance of cathedral chapters and choirs, usually averaged about 34,000,000 annually, or about £1,400,000 sterling. In addition were the allowances to Protestant pastors and Jewish rabbis, who absorbed between them upwards of 1,000,000 more; so that France continued to pay for the services of religion nearly £1,500,000 sterling per annum.

The incomes of the French clergy, therefore, are about the smallest in any established Church professedly upheld by the

State:* but they are not the less deserving, efficient, or zealous ministers of religion on that account. Improved by experience, and chastened by misfortune, they have abandoned interference in concerns foreign to their vocation, and present as meritorious a body of religious instructors as can be afforded by any country in the world. Unfettered by family ties, they are ever on the alert to administer the services of their sacred office, or to receive penitents into the fold: dead to the world, they still live for its erring children, and can share their pittance with the needy and the afflicted without fearing to injure a clamant offspring. This extraordinary amendment in the demeanour and manners of the French clergy has had a corresponding effect on the regard and affections of their countrymen, who, albeit still inclined to cynicism, look upon them with feelings the very reverse of those which were so vehemently entertained at the outbreak of the Revolution. This striking change receives an undoubted corroboration from the fact that not a cry, not a shout, not a reproach, was raised against the priests during the whole of the horrible convulsion whose fearful narrative will close this eventful tale.

IV. The educational establishments of France were the most elaborate and artistic of any known in the civilised world, except perhaps in Prussia. They formed a distinct branch of the State administration, at the head of which was always placed a member of the cabinet, generally a person distinguished as well for his political eminence as for a reputation in literature. Previous to the Revolution there were twenty-three separate universities in existence, of which that of Paris, with its celebrated academies, was immeasurably pre-eminent. But these all perished in the great convulsion, and under the Directory scarcely anything like a national collegiate establishment survived except the Institute of Paris, which counted among its members several men illustrious in arts and science. But in 1808 Napoleon created the UNIVERSITY, properly so called, which, unlike other institutions of the same name, embraced all France and the whole of the ramifications of public education. The statutes he enacted for the government of this great body were subsequently modified under the Restoration, but its fundamental principle continued untouched. Thus, as in all other matters under the Imperial rule, the business of education came to be centralised under the direct action of the government, and not a school could be opened in France except with the sanction of the supreme board of direction. This University, then,

* In comparison with the clergy of the established Church of England in particular, the Gallican ministers present an almost awful contrast. An archbishop of Canterbury, or a bishop of London, will easily swallow up twenty or thirty French prelates, whilst a fat rector will devour upwards of one hundred lean *cure's*. In like manner a lord chancellor or a chief-justice will consume the substance of twenty presidents of the Royal Courts, or fifty of the ordinary judges. Such facts are somewhat pregnant with consideration.

comprised academies, colleges, faculties, and other educational institutions distributed throughout France, and at its head was the minister of public instruction. In the exercise of his important functions he was assisted by a council of ten persons, all holding a high station in the world of letters, and this was called the Royal Council of Public Instruction. Everything appertaining to the details of education was regulated by it—the forms and course of instruction, the books to be used, and other particulars of the minutest character. Under its care were twenty-six academies, situated in the principal towns of France, at the head of each of which was a rector, whose duty it was to superintend all the colleges and schools comprehended within his department. He also was assisted and controlled by a council of ten, formed of professors, of the chief civil functionaries resident in the seat of the academy, and of some of the principal inhabitants. In most of these academies there were five faculties—namely, those of theology, law, medicine, literature, and the sciences, but only in eighteen were degrees given. Of colleges there were two descriptions—Royal Colleges and Communal Colleges: of the former there were fifty-five, of which five were in Paris; and of the latter about 350. These were, in fact, High Schools, such as exist at Edinburgh, Harrow, Rugby, &c. in Great Britain, and were preparatory to the academies and faculties. Attached to the Royal Council of the University were ten inspectors-general, who made circuits every year, inspected all these establishments, and reported to the directing minister on their respective states of efficiency.

Beneath these colleges were the schools of primary instruction, of which there was an immense number in all France. By a law passed under the ministry of M. Guizot in 1833, every commune was required by itself, or by joining with another, to establish a school of primary instruction for the teaching of reading, writing, arithmetic, and the system of weights and measures introduced by the Convention.* Communes containing more than 6000 inhabitants were required, moreover, to found schools of a higher class, in which the elements of chemistry, geometry, and natural history, as applicable to the purposes of ordinary life, were taught. To the schools of primary instruction the children of the poor were to be admitted gratis, and from time to time the more advanced were sent to the superior schools. The salaries of the schoolmasters were not to be less than 200 francs, or £8, in the lower establishments, or less than 400 francs, or £16, in the upper. They had, besides, such fees as they could get from the parents of

* By an ordinance of Charles X., schools of primary instruction were ordered to be founded in every commune; but very little progress was made with them before the Revolution of 1830. The idea of them was to train the population in 'monarchical and Christian principles;' but the experiment was somewhat too tardy.

the scholars, and a school-house and dwelling-house were found for them. But it is evident that with such an insignificant remuneration, men of a very inferior description must have filled these situations, nor is it reasonable to suppose they could have devoted their whole time to the duties of teaching, since they must have resorted to other occupations to eke out a subsistence. Of primary schools there were in all about 47,000, of which 36,000 were for boys, and 11,000 for girls; and it was computed that they were attended in winter by upwards of 2,000,000 pupils, and in summer by about 1,300,000. In addition, there were normal schools for the training of teachers, the principal of which was at Paris, instituted by Napoleon, and in which 300 young men received instruction of the highest class, and were initiated in the most approved methods of imparting knowledge, whereby they became fitted to take upon themselves in after-life the arduous duties of public teachers. Under this system, the whole cost of public education in France eventually amounted to nearly 20,000,000 francs yearly, or £800,000 sterling.

The great feature of education, therefore, in France is, that it is completely under the superintendence of the government. Private schools indeed may be opened, but their principals must first obtain certificates and licenses from the local authorities; and they are subjected to supervision, like all other scholastic establishments. All appointments of rectors, professors, and masters, emanate from the minister of public instruction, who is naturally guided in his selections by appropriate recommendations. In this excessive and exclusive action of the government is displayed the peculiar characteristic of French society, and which contrasts so singularly with the predominant spirit of the British community. In France nothing is or ever has been done by the people, but all by the government; whereas in England everything is done by the people, and nothing by the government. On this very point of education the result of the different systems is perhaps more surprising than on any other. It is certain that the British government has displayed a disgraceful laxity in promoting public education; but aristocratic governments are always indifferent, if not averse, to the spread of knowledge among the bulk of the people; and furthermore, it has been trammelled by the contests of religious sects to monopolise the instruction to be given in national schools. Consequently the mass of the population in England, Ireland, and Wales is very imperfectly educated, if not wholly uneducated; whilst, from the greater efficiency of the parochial schools, the case of Scotland is of a somewhat better complexion. But shameful and deplorable as is the state of education in Great Britain, chiefly through the culpable inattention of the government, it is infinitely worse in France, where the government has exerted itself so diligently to diffuse intelligence and to dispel ignorance,

the greatest curse and stigma of a country. And this in a great measure demonstrates the incapacity of governments to supply all the wants of societies which lack the spirit to assist themselves. The French give their government no aid, except such as are functionaries, and are paid for doing so; whereas the British always forestal their government, which comes lagging behind at a long interval, and recognises a great national achievement only when it has been successfully developed. Such is the distinctive cause of the backwardness of the French people in most practical acquirements, and particularly in this of education, which cannot be forced upon them by mere artistic combinations, in which the establishment of schoolmasters with stipends of £8 a year can form but a sorry instrumentality to the desired end.

At the same time it cannot be denied that the French have been deprived of advantages which other nations have possessed in a superior degree, and by none in an equal measure with the British. From the restrictions of the press, and the indiscriminate imposition of the stamp-duties, the circulation of cheap and instructive publications among them has been altogether debarred; and it has been one of the fatalities of the rage for political polemics that the government has never ventured to open the field of enterprise even to merely literary journals, from the certainty that they would be forthwith perverted to the propagation of subversive doctrines. Now, it is incontestable that it is by the circulation of such publications only that the people of a country can be really educated, since what is learnt at a school is usually cast aside and forgotten, nor can the general standard of knowledge be raised by any other less powerful agency. Hence, whilst the British government has been literally asleep, and taking no care whether or not its subjects perished as beasts of the field, a vast social revolution has taken place in the British islands within the last twenty years precisely through this instrument, the growth and expansion of which forms one of the most interesting subjects of inquiry that can be entertained. It had its first origin in a society formed at London called the 'Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge,' of which Henry Brougham, then possessing the respect, and almost the veneration of his countrymen, was one of the chief promoters. Under the auspices of this Society cheap tracts were published, containing popular information on subjects in natural history, literature, arts, and sciences, which soon attained a very wide circulation among the classes intended to be benefited by them. But indisputably the palm of merit in this race of national amelioration is due to two individuals in Edinburgh, William and Robert Chambers, who seem first to have conceived the idea of starting a miscellaneous literary Journal for the more especial service of the people, in which sound information should be mingled with articles of light reading, the whole calculated to

attract as well as to instruct, and to inculcate pure maxims of morality. Such a Journal they accordingly commenced to publish in 1832, at what was then considered an astonishingly low price, and, from the immense circulation it speedily reached, their experiment was an eminently successful one. Their success naturally called forth competitors in the same line; and from this time may be dated the rise of that wonderful literature which afterwards overspread not only Great Britain, but the United States of America, and every land throughout the world where the English language is spoken, whose characteristics were not only an unprecedented cheapness, but a general excellence which equalled, and perhaps excelled, more costly and pretending works. From all the mighty advantages showered upon the British nation by the millions upon millions of volumes thus diffused among the population, the French have been unhappily excluded; and although it may be doubted that their temperament is sufficiently healthy to relish publications adapted for improvement and instruction only, and unsuited by the hot ingredients of political diatribes or pictures of social depravity, yet it may be fairly hoped that the boon will be at least offered them; and that, if private enterprise fail, the government will step forward and assist in the meritorious work.*

V. The financial system of France was peculiar from the disproportionate burthen of the direct taxation imposed upon its inhabitants. The principal and most productive tax was the *contribution foncière*, or property-tax, levied on lands and houses according to their net revenue, but very unequally assessed, amounting in some departments to one-sixth, and in others to only one-seventeenth. This admitted inequality was sought to be obviated by the preparation of the *Cadaastre*, or register of landed property, a sort of Domesday-Book, in which every individual property was noted with its respective value. Although this *Cadaastre* was commenced in the Consulate, it proceeded very slowly to completion, being attended doubtless with enormous labour, from the minute subdivisions of property; and as the annual cost of the surveys amounted to nearly £120,000, and they were extended over forty years, the whole expense of this great national register must have approached £5,000,000 sterling. But it remains a most invaluable record, and is well worth all the money expended on it. The amount of this property-tax was generally 260,000,000 francs (£10,500,000) from year to year, and formed the most important item in the budget of receipts.† The taxes known under the name of the *con-*

* It is proper to state, that although the Messrs Chambers are the publishers of this work, their names have been here mentioned without any knowledge on their part; and that perhaps the last thing they ever dreamt of will be to learn that they have been alluded to in a 'History of the French Revolutions.'

† Contrary to the evil prophecies of the advocates of aristocracies and entails

tributions personnelle and mobiliere were a species of poll-tax levied on all males above eighteen years of age, accounted equal to three days' labour, and a tax on the rents of houses from 200 francs (£8) and upwards. The poll-tax, which is an obnoxious imposition from feudal reminiscences, was collected in Paris and other large towns by means of the *octrois*, or duties taken on articles entering within the walls. These two taxes, with those on gateways, street-doors, and windows, were usually estimated at 85,000,000 francs (£3,500,000) annually. The *patentes* or licenses were a very productive source of income, as every person carrying on a profession, trade, or business, was required to take out a *patente*, which was charged for according to two scales: either by a percentage upon the rent of his premises, or by a fixed charge graduating with the population of the town in which he resided. The produce of these licenses was 35,000,000 (£1,400,000) annually. The stamp and registration duties, applying to almost every transaction of civil life, from a baptismal register or common receipt, to the transference of large properties, were very heavy, and supplied to the budget the important item of upwards of 200,000,000 francs, or £8,000,000 sterling.*

The indirect taxes, or *droits-réunies*, comprehending excise duties on liquors, salt, tobacco, carriages, &c. and, together with the customs-duties, levied on importations, amounted annually to about 280,000,000 francs, or upwards of £11,000,000 sterling. The customs-duties were imposed on the most baneful principle of protection to what has been called native industry, and accord-

of land, the number of properties in France has not unduly increased within the last twenty-seven years, as will be seen from the following table taken from M. Passy's excellent work on 'Large and Small Farms,' or rather the very excellent translation of it published at Cupar, in the county of Fife:—

Years.	Number of Properties as Taxed.	Population.
1815	10,083,751	29,152,743
1826	10,296,693	31,851,545
1835	10,893,528	33,329,573
1842	11,511,841	34,376,722

Thus showing that the properties have not in reality increased in the ratio of the population—an extraordinary proof of the eternal rectitude of things when left to the operation of reason and justice!

* The departmental and communal charges were defrayed by levying what were called the *centimes additionels*, the amount of which was fixed by the general and municipal councils, upon reports from the prefects and mayors. These were, in fact, a per-centage upon the direct taxes of the State, and were thus conveniently levied for local purposes. The *octrois*, or town-duties, formed another branch of local revenue; and being collected on articles of consumption, constituted a grievous burthen upon the poorer of the inhabitants. At the same time, as no system of poor-rates existed in France, the revenues of the communes were applied to the relief of the indigent, but necessarily in an imperfect and desultory manner.

ingly gave rise to an immense extent of smuggling on the land frontiers. This was especially the case on the eastern frontier towards Belgium and Germany, and was carried on principally by means of dogs, who were trained to carry goods to their masters' houses, and performed their contraband missions under the darkness of night. An army of custom-house officers was maintained to protect the country from this singular invasion, and in one year they have been known to destroy upwards of 40,000 of these canine smugglers. On the Pyrenean frontier, again, the picture was reversed, as there the smuggling took place out of France into Spain, which attempted in like manner to isolate itself from the contamination of foreign produce. Thus do governments consent to demoralise their subjects for an injurious gain to favoured interests, and subject themselves to more than proportionate sacrifices in pursuit of an object which is both illusory and detrimental.

The public debt of France consisted entirely of *rentes* or annuities, and was not capitalised like that of Great Britain. It consisted of 3, 4, and 5 per cent. stocks, and amounted in 1830 to the annual charge of 245,500,000 francs (less than £10,000,000 sterling), including 40,000,000 (£1,600,000) paid to the sinking fund. In comparison with England this was a trifling burthen on the national resources, being considerably less than a third of the latter's public liabilities. The whole expenditure of the State for the same year was computed at 727,286,814 francs (about £29,000,000 sterling), including the expenses of collecting the revenue, repayments, discounts, allowances, bounties on exportation, &c. making in all nearly 973,000,000 francs, or nearly £39,000,000 sterling. The receipts for the same year were estimated at 980,000,000, or £39,200,000, so giving a small excess over the expenditure. The credit of the country stood very high in the eyes of capitalists; and shortly before the catastrophe, M. de Chabrol, the last finance minister of the Restoration, negotiated the 4,000,000 of 4 per cent. *rentes*, authorised to be issued by the Chamber of 1828 on account of the Russo-Turkish war, at no less a price than 102 francs $7\frac{1}{2}$ c., at which figure they were taken by the Messrs Rothschild. The loan not having been required for the purpose originally intended, its proceeds were applied to defray the charges of the expedition to Algiers, and the rate at which it was taken showed that Charles X. might have borrowed as much money as he desired to carry on the aggressive schemes which there is little doubt he contemplated. After the Revolution, the funds rapidly declined, and the 3 per cents., which had been at 85, fell in less than two months to 64. An almost universal ruin ensued in the monied and trading interests, amidst which innumerable failures occurred, and amongst the rest Laffitte himself eventually stopped payment. From this extreme depression

the public funds very slowly recovered, nor did they ever absolutely attain the buoyancy and elasticity they enjoyed under the last reign of the Restoration.

VI. The military and naval establishments of France were on a scale fully, if not more than, commensurate with her greatness as a nation. The army had long ago passed the limit of 150,000 men assigned to it in the treaty of 1815, and in 1830 it exceeded 300,000 men of all arms, comprising 250,000 infantry and 50,000 cavalry, with several corps of engineers. The conscription, of which Napoleon had made so fearful a use, had been abolished; but as voluntary enlistment was found ineffectual to supply the deficiencies in the ranks, a forcible system of recruitment had been established, by which a yearly levy of 40,000 men was raised, or might be raised by an ordinance of the king. These were determined by lot in the different communes, and supplied to the army the very flower of the French youth—not vagabonds, scapegraces, or convicts, as under some other systems of recruitment. They had to serve for at least six years; and as promotion was dependent on merit or capacity only, they all had an equal chance of attaining to the rank of officers. The pupils of the Polytechnic School, having received a purely military education, were naturally preferred, and were certain of receiving grades the moment they were eligible; but any intelligent youth, who could withstand the ordeal of an examination, might aspire to rise equally with the most favoured of his comrades. The army was under the superintendence of the minister at war, who held a seat in the cabinet, and was assisted by a council and numerous sub-secretaries. Its entire cost to the country was 200,000,000 francs, or £8,000,000 sterling yearly, the pay to the soldiers and officers not being more than one-half what it was in Great Britain. The whole of France was divided into nineteen military divisions, the head-quarters of which were at the principal towns of the kingdom. Besides the regular army, there were several companies of gendarmerie, amounting in all to about 18,000, distributed through the country, and acting in the capacity of a police force. The National Guards, who were replaced on their old republican footing with the election of their own officers, comprised nearly 1,000,000 of warrior-citizens, trained to the use of arms, and fitted assuredly to protect their country from the shame and horrors of another foreign invasion.

The geographical situation of France, her political relations, and the spirit of her people, concurred in rendering her essentially a military power, and one of the very highest order in Europe. But she has never been content with her great preponderance on land, and has ever sought to gain an equal prowess on the seas. In this attempt she has always been encountered and foiled by her ancient foe and rival—England; yet under every

government she has never lost sight of that commanding object of her ambition. At the commencement of the great revolutionary war in 1793, it is undoubted that the French navy was in a much superior condition to the British; and but for the supreme insanity of the Jacobins, who dismissed all the officers as aristocrats, and relieved the crews from the duties of subordination, the result of the first conflicts would probably have been so different, as completely to change the future character of the war. Nothing could exceed the crazy and inefficient state of the British navy under the corrupt administration of that period, and therefore the chances were in favour of the French attaining that early superiority which insured it to the conclusion of the struggle, by confining the inferior fleet to harbours and basins, and preventing its seamen from improving their nautical skill by manœuvres in the open sea. From the effect of its first discomfitures, therefore, the French navy was never able to retrieve itself; and despite all the gigantic efforts of Napoleon, he could never venture to send a fleet to sea after the fatal catastrophe of Trafalgar. True to the national instinct, the government of the Restoration bestowed great care on the revival of the navy; and although it failed to place it on the same flourishing footing as in 1791, when France had an effective force of 74 ships of the line and 62 frigates, admirably equipped, and of infinitely superior build to any vessels in the British navy—in whose construction of course no improvement had ever been attempted—yet it left a fleet of 35 sail of the line, and 40 frigates, with numerous brigs and corvettes, amounting in the whole to upwards of 280 craft of all sizes. In addition, 20 ships and 26 frigates were on the stocks, together with a proportionate number of minor vessels. The naval estimates generally appeared in the budget at a figure varying from 40,000,000 to 50,000,000 francs (from £1,600,000 to £2,000,000), thus bearing to the military expenditure the proportion only of scarcely one-fourth.

Since the conclusion of the war, a new element of naval force had come into operation, all the momentous importance of which was not yet foreseen or comprehended. This was the application of steam-power to the locomotion of vessels, which had been first tried privately in Scotland so early as 1788, but was first brought into public use by Robert Fulton in 1807 on the river Hudson in the State of New York. The invention was of singularly slow adoption, popular prejudice running strongly against it; and even in the United States steam navigation did not advance with the rapidity usual to that land of adventure and novelty. In Great Britain its progress was even more tardy; and it was not until 1818 that it was attempted on the open sea, in which year David Napier first ran the steamboat 'Rob Roy' from Glasgow to Belfast. From that time its progress was as rapid as it had been

hitherto slow, and soon the coasts of Great Britain swarmed with steam-puffing locomotives, making good their way against winds, waves, and tides, and which kept gradually increasing in size until they reached the colossal magnitudes known to after-times. The government had shut its eyes resolutely to the invention, and only when the glare of success became too overpowering was induced to open them; but in 1830 its application to vessels of war had scarcely been imagined, much less tested. Steam-tugs were employed in the dockyards, and steam-packets had taken the place of the old sailing vessels, particularly between England and France, whose intercommunication was thereby immeasurably increased. In France itself, where foreign inventions are always unfavourably received, steam navigation had met with very little encouragement from the government, and it may be literally said with none at all from the people. Yet in the account of the navy in 1831 there are reckoned 12 steam-vessels afloat and 5 building, which were of course small vessels for towing or coasting. But when this extraordinary power was successfully tried, not only on short sea voyages, but even across the great Atlantic itself, then the attention of both the French and British governments was awakened to all its vast importance; and they began to construct gigantic frigates propelled by steam, and armed with all the heavy ordnance of a vessel of war. Such is the new element of naval warfare which has been created, and which, there can be no doubt, will operate a decisive change whenever the day of the great collision may arrive; when, with the improved condition of the French navy, the perfect discipline and training of its crews, particularly in the science of gunnery, in which they were previously lamentably deficient, the British navy will probably find it a difficult task to uphold in the zenith all its former ascendancy.

VII. In her trade and manufactures, France, owing to her absurd and isolating commercial policy, was very far from having assumed the position which her unparalleled natural advantages and resources might have otherwise allotted to her. But still they were very considerable, and exceeded those of any other European country, excepting Great Britain—that island queen of ‘ships, colonies, and commerce.’ From the great variety of her climate, France grew in abundance almost every agricultural product known to the temperate zone, and particularly her vineyards were celebrated for the generous and multifarious quality of the wines they produced. In mineral wealth she was comparatively deficient, although coal and iron were wrought in a great many of the departments, particularly towards the south and west; but both were of an inferior quality. Lead and copper, too, were found in certain districts, and even the more precious metals were not altogether wanting. Mulberry-

trees were cultivated to a vast extent for the nourishment of the silk-worm, which had been introduced into France so early as the fifteenth century, although it was not until the beginning of the seventeenth that any great progress was made in their culture. In the course of time the silk manufacture had become the staple manufacture of France; and previous to the Revolution it was in a most flourishing state, and the source of continued wealth flowing into the country. The reign of the Jacobins destroyed it, like every other branch of industry; but it gradually revived with the return of order, and under the fostering care of Napoleon it again attained a considerable height. Lyons was its chief seat, as it had always been; nearly 70,000 persons being calculated to be dependent on it for a livelihood. In mere money value, however, the silk manufacture was not equal to either the woollen or the cotton manufacture, both of which since the peace had taken a very ample development. The yearly value of the silk manufactured was estimated at 125,000,000 francs (£5,000,000), whilst that of cotton amounted to 200,000,000 (£8,000,000), and that of woollen to 225,000,000 (£9,000,000). Still the silk manufacture was, as it were, purely domestic, since, with the exception of some raw silk imported from Italy and the Levant, it was entirely of home growth and production. From its superior excellence, moreover, it was an article of export to almost every country of the world, whereas the cotton and woollen manufactures could be sustained only by high protective duties, which gave to them a fictitious price, crippled the extent of national exchanges, and operated as an indirect burthen on the bulk of the community. The lace and cambric manufactures were likewise of great importance, and from the superior taste and ingenuity of the French designers, they were well capable of defying competition. In porcelain and the finer articles of earthenware France had always been pre-eminent, and the inimitable skill and delicacy of her artisans still maintained her character of superior excellence for such fabrics.

Thus France naturally, or by artificial processes, possessed within herself all the elements of a national prosperity, which it needed but an enlightened policy and an extended industry to carry to an indefinite magnitude. It was this happy peculiarity which enabled her to ride in anything like safety through the storm of the Revolution, and to emerge from it deeply scathed doubtless, but still pregnant with the seeds of resurrection. One year of such a convulsion would probably have prostrated Great Britain for ever, but France rebounded from the shock as buoyant and vigorous as ever in physical strength and aptitude. The only commodities of real necessity which she positively lacked were colonial products, of which coffee and sugar were the principal. The want of the latter of these she had sought during the war to supply by various expedients and succedaneums, all of

which ultimately gave place to the extract of beet-root, which was extensively cultivated, and afforded an inferior sugar in sufficient quantity for consumption. After the conclusion of peace, the growers of beet-root, who had grown into what was called an 'interest,' clamoured for protection against the cheap introduction of West India sugar, and in accordance with the notions of the time, it was granted to them. By this means the beet-root manufacture continued to flourish, through the enhanced price given to the legitimate article, and the annual produce gradually increased from five and seven millions of pounds to twelve and thirteen millions of pounds. Apart from the principles of political economy, which were grossly violated by a culture so purely forced, this native production of sugar could not be regarded as an evil, if, in the event of another war, France should be rendered again dependent for colonial supplies upon her chance of regaining a superiority at sea. For coffee she could of course find no adequate substitute, but from her improved position in the Mediterranean through her possession of Algiers, she must be always able to command a sufficient supply of that fragrant berry in the very worst of imaginable contingencies.

The principal articles of export from France, therefore, were wines, brandies, oils, fruits, raw silk, silk manufactures, hardware, leather, watches, and millinery, with a variety of smaller articles, and occasionally considerable quantities of agricultural produce, particularly to England, when the latter opened her ports to receive them. In 1829 the whole official value of these exports amounted to 666,500,000 francs (£26,500,000), being an increase since 1824 of upwards of 100,000,000 francs, or £4,000,000 sterling. The principal articles of importation at the same time were raw cotton, flax, hemp, wool, sugar, coffee, tobacco, cotton and linen yarn, coal, iron, steel; and the value of the whole amounted in 1829 to nearly 765,000,000 francs, or above £30,500,000 sterling, being an increase since 1824 of more than 65,000,000 francs, or above £2,500,000 sterling. The trade carried on to the greatest extent was with England, the United States, the Netherlands, Sardinia, Germany, Switzerland, and Spain. The intercourse with England was fettered by the jealous restrictions on either side, England refusing to receive the corn and cattle of France unless when she was half-starved, and France imposing on British manufactures a heavy and prohibitive duty in order to foster her own. Nevertheless, the imports into France from Great Britain in the year 1829 amounted to above 86,500,000 francs (£3,500,000), and the exports to above 113,000,000 (above £4,500,000). In the same year the imports from the United States exceeded 90,000,000 francs, and the exports to that country nearly equalled 74,000,000.

The number of French ships employed in outward commerce

was inferior to that of the foreign vessels engaged therein. Thus in 1829 the number of French ships reported outwards and inwards was 6149, representing a tonnage of 347,000 tons; whilst the number of foreign ships so reported was 9560, with a tonnage of more than 1,000,000 of tons. In the colonial trade the vessels employed were exclusively French, as the intercourse was carried on upon the strictest principles of monopoly. As the beet-root growers demanded protection against all sugars, so the planters of Martinique, Guadaloupe, Bourbon, Senegal, Cayenne, demanded protection against foreign sugars, so that the French people had to pay in support of both the home and the colonial interests. The quantity of sugar imported from the few colonies she still possessed by France amounted annually to about 1,200,000 cwts.; and in the whole colonial trade, including that with the insignificant East Indian establishments of Pondicherry and Chandernagore, about 480 ships were employed, representing an aggregate tonnage of 115,000 tons. The value of the exports to the colonies in 1829 exceeded 63,000,000 francs (£2,700,000), and that of the imports from them to upwards of 64,000,000 francs (£2,750,000); but in the immediately subsequent years the exports fell off nearly a third. In the coasting trade, the number of vessels had increased very materially, counting in 1829 upwards of 67,000, with a tonnage of 2,000,000 of tons, and manned by 260,000 sailors. In the prosecution of the fisheries, also, there was an increased activity; and in the herring, mackerel, and cod fisheries were employed upwards of 8000 vessels, representing an aggregate tonnage of nearly 120,000 tons, and manned by crews amounting in the whole to 50,000 men and boys.

The better to facilitate internal communication in France, no less than seventy-four canals had been constructed of greater or less extent, covering about 2300 miles. Of these, one of the earliest and most celebrated was that of Languedoc, extending 148 miles upon an average breadth of 60 feet. It ran from the Mediterranean to the Garonne, near Toulouse, and had in its course a tunnel upwards of three miles in length. The canal of Besançon, joining the Saone to the Rhine, was nearly 200 miles long. The canal of St Quentin united the Scheldt with the Somme, and that of Burgundy the Rhone with the Seine, the latter being 150 miles in length. Canals, as well as turnpike roads, were under the management of a government board called the *Bureau des Ponts et des Chaussées* in the department of the minister of the interior, all having been equally planned and constructed, as usual, by the central government. The invention of railroads, which had already received a considerable development in England exclusively by private enterprise, was as yet unknown in France; and it was not until many years afterwards that the government turned its attention to that superior mode

of communication, and sought to introduce its advantages into France.

By the decennial census of 1831, the population of France was found to be 32,569,223, being an increase of more than 2,000,000 since 1821. The population of Paris was 774,338; of Marseilles, 145,115; of Lyons, 133,715; of Bordeaux, 99,062; of Rouen, 88,086; of Nantes, 77,992; of Lille, 69,073. No accurate classification of the inhabitants was attempted; but it has been estimated that at least 17,500,000 were employed in the pursuits of agriculture, and very little above 6,000,000 in manufactures—thus confirming, what was indeed before notorious, that the rural population very far outnumbers the urban in France. More than one-half of the entire soil of France was under profitable cultivation, being a much larger proportion than in England, and the whole surface of the country was thus distributed:—

	Hectares.
Cultivable Land, - - - - -	25,569,152
Meadows, - - - - -	4,834,621
Vineyards, - - - - -	2,134,922
Woods, - - - - -	7,422,314
Orchards and Gardens, - - - - -	643,699
Willow and Elm Plantations, - - - - -	64,489
Pools and Watering-Places, - - - - -	209,431
Downs, Pastures, and Heaths, - - - - -	7,799,672
Navigable Canals, - - - - -	1,631
Lands under Various Culture, - - - - -	951,934
Ground occupied by Buildings, - - - - -	241,842
Roads, Paths, Places, &c. - - - - -	1,215,115
Rivers, Lakes, and Brooks, - - - - -	454,365
Forests and Unproductive Lands, - - - - -	1,209,432
Cemeteries, Churches, and Public Establishments, - - -	17,774
	52,770,293

The hectare is equivalent to about $2\frac{1}{2}$ English acres, and consequently the whole of France covers an area of upwards of 131,000,000 of acres.

CHAPTER XXIII.

EXTRAORDINARY DIFFICULTIES OF THE NEW GOVERNMENT—RECOGNITION OF LOUIS-PHILIPPE BY THE DIFFERENT POWERS OF EUROPE—TRIAL OF THE MINISTERS OF CHARLES X.—REPUBLICAN CONSPIRACIES AND INSURRECTIONS—DUCHESS DE BERRY IN LA VENDEE—ATTEMPTS AT ASSASSINATION—AFFAIRS OF BELGIUM, ITALY, SPAIN, AND PORTUGAL—PEACEABLE POLICY OF LOUIS-PHILIPPE, AND INTIMATE UNION BETWEEN FRANCE AND ENGLAND—TREATY OF THE 15TH OF JULY 1840, AND THE ISOLATION OF FRANCE—1830 TO 1840.

It is impossible to overrate the difficulties which surrounded Louis-Philippe upon his accession to the throne after the popular insurrection of the famous Three Days. Upon all questions there was a ferment of ideas which threatened to render a definitive solution all but hopeless. Among those who viewed the change as identical with the event of 1688—and they comprised the great majority of the Chambers, and indeed the late opposition party in general—many argued that a change in the national faith ought to follow, according to the precedent, and that the Protestant should be substituted for the Catholic religion, whose spirit was antagonistic to popular liberties. The conduct of several of the prelates and dignified clergy gave additional cogency to this reasoning, for in numerous instances they avowed their determination not to take the oath to the new government, or even to allow the prayer for the king to be recited in the liturgy; and many of them withdrew from their dioceses, and from the kingdom itself. But the reasons for maintaining the Catholic religion to be that of the established Church in France were overpowering, notwithstanding the truculent demeanour of its discontented priesthood, on account both of its being the really predominant faith, and of political considerations altogether irrefragable. The genius of the French people was wholly unsuited to the cold and simple forms in vogue among the reformed churches; and if they were at heart indifferent to religion in its abstract virtue, they would assuredly revolt against the proposition of an apostacy, although in its essence merely ostensible, which would seem in their eyes a national disgrace. But the importance of France was especially linked to its remaining a Catholic power, inasmuch as in every part of Europe she exercised an influence which would immediately cease, or be greatly shaken, if she abjured Catholicism. In Italy, in Spain, in Belgium, in Ireland, in Poland, and finally in the East, where it was her traditional policy to play the part of a protector to the

Christian tribes of Lebanon and Palestine, she could always roll her propagandist thunder whilst she adhered to the standard of the Apostolic Church, but might awaken repugnance and resistance by departing from its orthodox to enter a schismatical fold. Consequently the advocates of Protestantism were soon silenced, and the Catholic, Apostolic, and Roman religion declared by the Charter to be the standing creed of the majority of the French nation.

But in civil matters, and in the settlement of the government, far more serious perplexities were to be encountered. Setting aside the Republicans, who still hovered around Lafayette, suggesting to him evil doubts, and reproaching him with an inglorious credulity, the Liberals were full of extravagant conceits, and particularly the journalists, who plumed themselves as the chief authors of the victory, and aspired to become the absolute directors of its results. Hence that temperate and guarded policy which it so essentially behoved the new monarch to observe was the most difficult of all to sustain; and he could only hope to succeed by a prudence which was every moment exposed to be defeated by an outburst of revolutionary passions. Every act taken by him was liable to criticism and censure by Republicans, Liberals, and Legitimists, who arraigned his conduct on the opposite grounds of being directed towards a mere re-establishment of the subverted system, and of indicating a base subservience to work out his treacherous designs. Whilst intent, therefore, to institute a stable monarchy, it was incumbent on him to amuse and flatter the obstreperous men of the movement; and if he seemingly entertained their wild doctrines, and listened complacently when they urged that propagandism was the destined policy of France, an aggressive fraternity her prescribed province, it was his deliberate object to impart a totally different character to his government. By the choice of his first ministers he at once smoothed the more pressing difficulties of his position and betrayed its great embarrassments. It was fortunate that the Municipal Commission, installed at the Hôtel de Ville, had contained certain conservative elements, which he could therefore the more easily commingle in the cabinet he called around him, and particularly the Doctrinaires, who had borne so conspicuous a part in the opposition of recent years. Hence to Guizot was assigned the ministry of the interior, and to Molé that of foreign affairs—by far the most important departments of the government at all times, but especially so after a great civil convulsion. Broglie had the ministry of public instruction, Louis that of finance, Sebastiani that of the marine, Gerard that of war, all being decided Monarchists, and disposed to render the change as little revolutionary as possible. With these were mingled Dupont (de l'Eure), as keeper of the seals and minister of justice,

a man of extreme opinions, verging to Republicanism, and Laffitte without a portfolio, both of whom were regarded with favour by the ultra-Liberals, and considered as guarantees of the future course of the government. Dupin, Casimir-Perier, and Bignon were likewise admitted to seats in the cabinet without portfolios, they forming the expression of an intermediate 'colour' satisfactory to the popular party, and in the person, of Bignon even to the Bonapartist party. Such was the heterogeneous council formed by Louis-Philippe to assist him in the primary labours of his government, and which reflected the discordant ideas fermenting in the public mind.

It has been remarked by all the writers who have treated of this period of French history, that never at any time was known so keen and universal a demand for places as was then urged upon the heads of the administration. The claimants of rewards for services done during the glorious Three Days, or for participation in their preliminaries or consequences, were absolutely innumerable. The most clamorous and difficult to satisfy were the advocates and the journalists, whose estimate of their value was beyond the measure of ordinary calculation. The former desired that nearly the whole of the existing judges should be swept away; and they were much chagrined when the article of the Charter was quoted against them which secured their irremovability. This article had been inserted, after much controversy, by Dupin, the reporter on Berard's propositions, who was anxious to uphold the dignity and integrity of the higher magistracy. But many of the judges voluntarily resigned rather than take the oath to the new king, and others, who were peculiarly obnoxious, were compelled to vacate their seats by the bar refusing to plead before them. Dupont (de l'Eure) was not backward in clearing the judicial bench as far as by any act of his he could do so, and thus an immense number of vacancies fell for distribution among the patriots of the robe, who divided among them also the lucrative appointments of procureurs-general in the Royal Courts and the tribunals of First Instance, masters of requests, auditors, masters of accounts, &c. all of whom held their offices at the pleasure of the crown. As to the journalists, they aspired principally to the prefectures, and those of the highest station and emolument spurning any they did not hold commensurate with their importance. Many of the existing prefects and sub-prefects were men whom M. Guizot was not desirous of supplanting, since they were efficient and intelligent functionaries; but he could not resist the storm of invasion; and scarcely one of them was saved for the moment, although several were subsequently reinstated. In all the other departments there was the same crowd of importunate beggars, and each ministry was literally besieged by the swarms of applicants who mustered to advance their pre-

ferential claims. Considering the enormous amount of places at the disposal of the administrative government in every branch of the public service, there can be no doubt that an almost inexhaustible field was open to reward the merits of the deserving, and that many a hot Republican and boisterous demagogue was hushed into silence by the gift of an office which converted him into a conservative; yet numerous as were the places, still more numerous were the claimants; and for every patriot whom the government satisfied, it exasperated perhaps ten more by the bitterness of disappointment.

There was nothing that Louis-Philippe and the chief members of his cabinet had so much at heart as the speedy recognition of the new government by the great powers of Europe. According to the established etiquette of courts, it was customary for a new monarch at his accession to intimate the event by an autograph letter to his brother sovereigns, which was intrusted not to the ordinary ambassador, but to a special envoy for deliverance. The adoption of this course by Louis-Philippe was a somewhat perilous experiment, particularly towards the autocrat of the Russias, until he was well assured that both his letter and his messenger would be favourably received. Frequent conferences were held, therefore, by Count Molé with sundry of the foreign ministers, and especially with Pozzo di Borgo, at the houses of third parties, since no regular diplomatic intercourse had yet been instituted. At these every assurance was given that benevolent sentiments alone animated the courts towards the new King of the French, and that they were all ready cordially to acknowledge him. Pozzo di Borgo undertook to enlighten his master as to the real character of the Revolution that had taken place, and as to the imperative circumstances under which Louis-Philippe had been constrained to accept the crown—a zeal for which he afterwards languished under the imperial frown. But at the moment all was auspiciously concluded; the autograph letters were written, and the envoys appointed to carry them. The letter to the emperor of Russia was most carefully and elaborately worded, so as at once to avoid wounding any of his susceptibilities, and to bespeak a kindly interpretation for the acts of the monarch who had risen from the barricades of a rebellious populace. In this document was displayed very transparently the necessity imposed upon Louis-Philippe of holding two languages—one to domestic Revolutionists, in which he applauded their heroism and their principles, and the other to foreign despots, whom he laboured to convince that the cause of revolution was the most odious to his heart. This apparent insincerity arose from the unfortunate exigencies of his situation, which compelled him to belie himself for the sake of that order and peace it was his mission to preserve. But it naturally exposed him to counter reproaches, for

the Revolutionists growled fiercely at his apologies and propitiations towards foreign princes, whilst the latter were ever ready to forget his embarrassments, and to upbraid him with undue concessions to the foul spirit of Jacobinism.

The letter of Louis-Philippe to William IV., who, by the death of George IV. on the 26th June 1830, had recently become king of Great Britain and Ireland, was conveyed by General Baudrand, who experienced a very flattering reception from the court of London. The Revolution of July had been hailed by an unbounded rapture in England among all classes of the people, and so strong was the feeling, that the government durst not but respond to it, and seek to satisfy it, lest it might turn to a demand for domestic reforms, which were regarded by the Tories as the last of conceivable evils. But on mere political grounds, the Duke of Wellington and Lord Aberdeen had sufficient reason to rejoice at the downfall of the elder Bourbons, and so were the more disposed to accept a successor to them in the person of so estimable a prince as the Duke of Orleans. Not only, therefore, was he promptly acknowledged, but a studied coldness, amounting to incivility, was observed towards the ex-royal family, which was not suffered to approach the court, nor was treated with any regal honours. This conduct gave great satisfaction in France, and undoubtedly laid the foundation of a long amity between the two countries, which desperate factions often thereafter in vain sought to break. On the 1st of September Lord Stuart de Rothesay had the glory to present the first credentials of an accredited minister to Louis-Philippe, King of the French; and the example of England was followed at intervals by every other court in Europe. Even the Pope did not hesitate to commission a nuncio to the new monarchy, and his acknowledgment necessarily entailed the submission of all the refractory prelates.

Thus received into the bosom of the European system on the pledge of preserving inviolate the treaties on which it reposed, Louis-Philippe had one great cause of uneasiness removed, and felt himself invigorated to compose the dissensions and calm the effervescence which disturbed the domestic settlement of France. Among the many singular phenomena exhibited by the French during the paroxysms of their revolutionary fevers, there is none more conspicuous than the mania for deputations, which seizes upon all classes and subdivisions of the community with a force apparently irresistible. It is perhaps as innocuous a safety-valve for high-wrought passion as they could well select, but it is a fearful infliction on those who are the objects of its expression. For three months after his accession, the new King of the French was subjected to this terrible visitation, worse by far than that of the plagues of Egypt. Notwithstanding the multifarious cares of the general government, which required two cabinet councils to

he held daily, at which it was necessary for him to be present, he was called upon to receive these gregarious assemblages, of every hue and character, whose addresses were the more harassing and bewildering from their being all couched in one stereotyped jargon. The tailors, the fishmongers, the students, the clerks and apprentices of Paris, spoke the same language as the clubbists or the National Guards of Lyons, Marseilles, and other towns, the monotonous burthen being ever the downfall of tyrants, the triumph of liberty, and redundant praise of the inhabitants of Paris, and of France in general. The king was fortunately gifted with that facility for bombast which passes for sterling substance in France, and which consists in a happy transposition of certain sounding epithets immersed in a vague and watery verbiage. It is a talent peculiar to the French, and which none but they have ever brought to anything like perfection. It was very essential to Louis-Philippe at the present time, and enabled him to dismiss the various deputations satisfied with him and with themselves, for he administered to them a copious dose of individual flattery, and sounded most apt changes on stale and vapid tunes. He possessed the inimitable art, moreover, of combining dignity and affability so effectually, that from the rude approaches of a vulgar familiarity he could always preserve himself undefiled. Supremely jealous were these deputations as to the reception accorded them, and if they were made to wait for the leisure of the king, they found the detention an insult to the nation, and broke the peace of the Palais-Royal by their unseemly clamours. Much there was to criticise, too, when admitted to the presence of the monarch, since there was no precise standard prescribing the properties of a Republican king, and it was assuredly difficult to realise the beautiful ideal of such a moral incongruity. After wearying the king with their tautologous rant, these deputations demanded to see the queen and her children, who were compelled to exhibit themselves in a separate apartment, and go through the sickening ordeal hour after hour, and day after day, until the grievance grew sufficiently intolerable to work its own cure.

Lafayette was the general introducer of these manifold deputations to the Palais-Royal, for he was ever ready to volunteer his services when he could make a parade of himself and his influence. At his command all doors were thrown open, and none dared venture to stop the way to the 'patriarch of the two worlds,' as he allowed himself to be modestly styled.* He took delight in such exhibitions, and in forcing them on the king, who

* Upon one occasion Lafayette appeared at the head of a motley crew, whose outward aspect somewhat disconcerted the aide-de-camp on service in the ante-room of the king, and he inquired hesitatingly whom he was to announce. 'The gentlemen convicts for political offences!' Lafayette exclaimed in a loud voice. He afterwards presented them to the king, saying, 'These are the political convicts; they are presented by an accomplice.'

feigned to receive him at all times with the utmost joy and respect. He invented a species of uniform for those who were not able to dress themselves better, consisting of a blouse which covered internal deficiencies, ornamented with tricoloured ribbons and the figure of a cock on the breast, and surmounted by a pasteboard shako, to which was given the appellation of the *Costume Gaulois*, or Gaulish costume, a parody, it is to be supposed, on the dress of the ancient Gauls. In this strange attire, bearing in his hand a sword or a pike, a citizen might always present himself, and, as the organ of a deputation, claim an audience of the king. Lafayette was by no means content with these more unsubstantial proofs of his influence; he dictated appointments to the ministers in the most imperious manner, and altogether took upon himself more authority at this particular moment than at almost any other period. He was conscious of all the weight he possessed in his immense popularity; and although he suffered himself to be cajoled by Louis-Philippe, he not the less subjected the monarch to trying vexations and humiliations. In the person of the Prince-Royal, the Duke of Orleans, he carried this spirit of exaction to an extravagant pitch. This young prince, who was in his twentieth year, had been appointed by Charles X. to the command of the First Regiment of Hussars, and had had conferred on him the blue ribbon, the insignia of the order of the Holy Ghost. At the head of his regiment he had escorted the Duchess d'Angouleme during part of her journey to Rambouillet; and having returned to Paris after the Revolution, he applied to Lafayette to be enrolled among the artillery of the Parisian National Guard, 'that glorious National Guard,' as he called it, to which application the general responded by appointing him to be a common cannoneer. The young duke was distinguished for singularly free and popular manners, as well as for decidedly democratic tendencies, but it was assuredly preposterous to place a colonel of a regiment and the heir of the crown in a position which could not be otherwise than degrading. But the levelling contrast was vastly pleasing to Lafayette's weak mind, and the king was content that his son should play so absurd a part as long as the masquerade might be of any service.

The relation, indeed, between the commander of the National Guards and the King of the French was very peculiar, and one which has no parallel in history. It was quite different from that which the same personage bore towards Louis XVI. in 1791, since he was then the guardian and the adviser of an unhappy prince who resented his involuntary constraint, and scorned his obtrusive counsels. Now he was, as it were, the patron and the sponsor of a monarch called to the throne by the representatives of the nation, and for whose conduct in the exercise of royalty he had made himself responsible. The people were ready to trust in one whom

Lafayette deemed worthy of confidence, and they gave themselves no thought as to the judgment or sagacity displayed by their idol in previous junctures of his career. He vouched for the Republicanism of Louis-Philippe, although he had repeatedly disavowed that same Republicanism for himself; and talked of a monarchy surrounded by Republican institutions as a thing of the most easy accomplishment in the world. At numerous banquets given to him in and around Paris he held this patronising language towards the king, and at reviews of the National Guards he still harped on the same theme. On the 29th of August a grand review of all the National Guards of the metropolis was held on the Champ de Mars, at which the king was present, when colours were distributed to the different legions, and the oath of fidelity administered to the citizen-soldiers. Lafayette was still the hero of the day, and it was through him that Louis-Philippe expressed the overpowering admiration which the appearance of the troops had awakened in him. However disagreeable this all-presuming egotism might be, it was at least harmless, and in a certain degree beneficial; but in political colloquies Lafayette held a tone offensive and detrimental to the king. With the inflated conceit of French Revolutionists in general, he viewed Europe as a theatre ready to be set in conflagration on the first signal from France, and talked with menacing haughtiness of any attempts on the part of monarchs to interfere with the realisation of national sovereignties. Such language was certainly not quite so bad as that of the Convention, when it promised assistance to all revolted communities; but it was of a nature to arouse apprehensions in foreign powers, and particularly in the court of Prussia, which was more exposed to an attack from France than any other country. It was diametrically opposed to the language of Louis-Philippe, who strove to calm disquietudes touching the aggressive character of the new government; but such was the influential position of Lafayette, so completely did he seem to overshadow the king, that his words were taken to be pregnant with a meaning greater than they actually bore; and Prussia deputed an illustrious man of science, the friend of Arago, M. de Humboldt, to sound the septuagenarian propagandist, and to ascertain how far his views were likely to be carried out. M. de Humboldt had an interview with Lafayette, who scrupled not to avow the revolutionary course France would pursue if she were herself interfered with, or if any intervention were hazarded to suppress the recovered liberties of nations. The Prussian *savant* heard and marked; but he did not conclude that M. de Lafayette was destined to embroil the nations of the earth in opposition to the wise and judicious prince in whose hands the fate of France reposed.

Whilst engaged in studying every art to increase his popu-

larity, and to show himself a true monarch of the people, walking forth in the public streets and gardens dressed in plain clothes, and accompanied by a single aide-de-camp similarly attired, an appalling event occurred, which aroused some odious doubts, and cast upon Louis-Philippe a shade of injurious obloquy. The Duke de Bourbon, son of the emigrant Prince of Condé, and father of the unfortunate Duke d'Enghien, had in his dotage fallen completely under the sway of an English mistress, Sophy Dawes by birth, the Baroness de Feucheres by marriage, and having no children, was induced by her to make a will in favour of herself and the Duke d'Aumale, the infant son of the King of the French, she trusting by that association to insure the powerful support of the Orleans family. This will was made in 1829, and the baroness was not deceived in her expectation as to the co-operation of the Orleans family, who immediately extended towards her the most touching friendship. At the same time there was nothing unnatural in the Prince of Condé making a scion of the family of Orleans his heir, that scion being at the same time his godson, since not only were they sprung from a common stock, but he had married the sister of the last Duke of Orleans, Egalité, and was therefore more closely connected with it than with his presumptive successors, the Dukes de Rohan-Soubise and De Montmorenci. But after the Revolution of July the prince grew very restive and impatient, and, it is said, wished to alter his will in favour of the Duke de Bordeaux, then thrown from his high destinies to be a penniless exile. Nevertheless, he gave a fête at his château of St Leu in celebration of the popular victory on the 1st of August, and a few days afterwards, dined with the officers of the First Hussars at the Palais-Royal. Whether he really intended to make such an alteration of his will or not, it is certain that he meditated a secret evasion from St Leu, to escape, it is natural to suppose, from the thralldom of the Baroness de Feucheres. On the 26th of August he entertained some company at dinner, and retired to rest at his usual hour. In the morning he was found strangled, his body being attached to the bar of one of the windows by two handkerchiefs, one of which was tightly twisted round his neck. His legs were bent up, as there was not sufficient space for him to hang at length; and if he had committed suicide, it was evidently one of a very determined character. He was seventy-four years old, weakened in the use of one arm, and unable, it is said, to tie even the knot of his cravat. This most mysterious death naturally caused a prodigious sensation, notwithstanding the excitement of public affairs, and through his connection with the Baroness de Feucheres it was attempted to implicate the king in the horrible transaction. There was not the smallest ground for so doing, and the baroness herself was ultimately absolved from any accusation of guilt;

by the successive decisions of all the courts of law she was confirmed in the possession of the enormous personalty left by the deceased prince, whilst to the Duke d'Aumale were decerned the thrice-ample domains of St Leu, Chantilly, and Ile-Adam. Yet such is the malignity of party-spirit, that even to this day the Royalists and Republicans affect to represent the character of Louis-Philippe as labouring under a stigma with reference to the melancholy death of the Duke de Bourbon, last Prince of Condé, who closed the illustrious line of the great warrior.

From the southern shore of the Mediterranean came intelligence which, by its favourable character, served to dispel the gloom arising from this sinister catastrophe, for intense apprehension had existed as to the course which might possibly be pursued by the large military and naval forces assembled on the coast of Africa. The army which had conquered Algiers consisted fully of 40,000 men, and was composed for the most part of young men who had never known any flag but that of the Bourbons, and were commanded by officers belonging to the highest ranks of the old nobility, ardent and veritable chevaliers, invoking in their enthusiasm the shade of St Louis and his sainted band on the same paynim shore. The commander of this army was a man of great ability and martial acquirements, whom it had been one of the last acts of the late government to reward with the high title of Marshal for his opportune success. Was it likely that Marshal Bourmont would quietly lay down his command upon the order of the revolutionary government, or was it not more likely that, with a devoted army, he might continue to uphold the white banner, and attempt to reinstate his fallen master? From his character, it might well be supposed that he would be tempted to embrace the latter alternative, and thus a fearful civil war might be dreaded as of almost inevitable occurrence; but the circumstances, in fact, took away from Bourmont any choice of conduct. If Charles X. and the dauphin had not actually abdicated, it is impossible to say what he might not have done; but this renunciation being conveyed to him, together with an order from the Lieutenant-General, whose appointment had been likewise confirmed by the king, he had no alternative but to submit, and to surrender his command into the hands of General Clausel, who had been nominated to supersede him. On the 16th of August he hoisted on the battlements of the Casbah the tricoloured flag, which he had himself earlier recognised and betrayed; and on the 2d of September he took leave of the army, in an order of the day framed in simple and appropriate language. A favourite son had fallen by his side in fighting against the Arabs, and the only treasure he bore from his conquest was the heart of that son encased in lead. Thus avouch his panegyrists; but by the press of Paris he was viru-

lently assailed as a public robber, and accused of having pilfered, to his own enrichment, the caverns of the Casaubas, which were filled, like the garden of Aladdin, with glittering stores of the most precious stones, and with the virgin sequins which were wont to pass current on the busy mart of the Rialto. As the amount of treasure found in this magnificent palace of the Dey was officially stated at 50,000,000 francs, it is probable that the marshal was unjustly charged with appropriating to his own use much, if any, of the tempting prize.

The conquest of Algiers is celebrated by the historians of France as one of the most brilliant of the achievements effected by her arms, although in sooth there was not much to boast of either in the deed itself or in the justice of the cause which led to it. The real origin of the expedition lay in the hope of Charles X. and his ministry to dazzle the French by a military success, the first of a contemplated series, whilst they aimed their blow at the national liberties; but albeit this is sufficiently palpable, the Republican, as well as the Legitimist writers affect to extol the glory of the enterprise, from no more elevated motive than to cast reproach upon the government of Louis-Philippe for its peaceful and honourable policy. According to these writers, and they speak, unfortunately, to a population too prone to credit them, the glory of France can never be maintained unless she be engaged in some military outrage; and they especially denounce as unnatural anything like concord with Great Britain.* With these views they seek to represent the government of Charles X. as actuated by a more truly national spirit than that of his successor, who is infinitely more detested by them, simply because, by his prudence and firmness, he long prevented them from realising their designs of convulsing France by a social anarchy, and of throwing the civilised world into a chaos of primitive barbarism.

But the lustre of a triumph over undisciplined Bedouins, or the blaze of a successful insurrection, was alike incapable of longer hiding the hideous wounds from which France was bleeding at every pore. The distress and ruin caused by the havoc of the Revolution had been parried for a time by temporary expedients, but it fell now with accumulated weight upon the paralysed resources of the country. Half the shops of Paris had not been opened since the 'glorious days,' and scarcely a single manufacturer remained at work, as credit was utterly annihilated, and the Bank of France resolutely closed its discounts against every description of paper. Skilled workmen especially were thrown out of employment; and many artisans who had been previously

* It is one of the chief crimes ascribed to Louis-Philippe, his endeavour to form a close alliance with England immediately after his accession, in that rare compound of malignant sophisms attributed to M. Louis Blanc, and called by him the '*Histoire de Dix Ans—1830-1840.*'

in the receipt of three, four, five, and six francs a day, were unable to earn twenty-five sous even when they could get any occupation at all. All demand for articles of luxury had entirely ceased, and the numerous foreign families which resided permanently in Paris and the departments had fled in dismay from the scene of sanguinary conflict. The printers, and especially the more practised compositors, were a class who suffered very grievously, since, although numerous new journals had started into an ephemeral existence under the impulse of the prevailing excitement, the publication of books had wholly ceased, and the largest publishing establishment in Paris, which had given full employment, at the highest wages, to more than two hundred compositors, could give occasional work to only five or six, and even six months after the catastrophe had barely twenty-five engaged at a wage of thirty sous a day.* The enrolment of the *Garde Mobile* had not been proceeded with; and as no regular system of poor-laws had ever prevailed in France, there was no resource whatever left for the labouring poor but to meet starvation with what fortitude they could. It was truly melancholy that these men, who had fought with such excellent bravery, and behaved themselves in victory with such heroic moderation, should now be exposed to perish of absolute hunger, and should be seen wandering through the streets gaunt images of want and despair. The principal source from which they might have obtained relief they had themselves destroyed—namely, the barriers, at which the *octrois* were collected, a municipal fund at all times applicable to the succour of the indigent. Guizot, it is true, proposed and obtained a vote of 5,000,000 (£200,000) for public works, which were commenced forthwith under a particular administration. They consisted, in the first place, of *ateliers communs*, or common workshops, in which the artisans were distributed in brigades, and a certain daily wage allotted to them upon an arbitrary standard. These *ateliers communs* were the scenes of constant commotions and revolts, the workmen now fighting among themselves, now mutinying for more wages, now rushing forth in processions to address the king, and strong detachments of the National Guard were required to keep them in check. Other works were undertaken on the Champ de Mars and the Champs-Élysées: on the first, the turf slopes were repaired; on the second, drains and ditches were cut. The pavement of the streets, which had been pulled up during the affray, was replaced; and when no better work could be found, earth or rubbish was moved from

* Louis Blanc does not attempt to conceal these consequences to the working-classes of the Revolution, because he wishes to charge them on the heartlessness of the *bourgeoisie*; but he himself has lived to have the same deplorable facts to deal with, and despotic power to ameliorate them, and yet, in his attempts, he only plunged his unfortunate dupes into the greater and more hopeless depths of misery.

one place to another without any object of advantage whatever. Thus were the heroes of July reduced to a more degraded position than the slaves of Greece or Rome, who were compelled to labour certainly on public works, but these had at least a character of magnificence or utility.*

It was natural that these same heroes under such lamentable circumstances should be easily played upon by artful miscreants, who persuaded them that the cause of the want of work was machinery, against which they directed their thoughtless vengeance. Very ignorant men for the most part, they lent a ready ear to such insensate suggestions, and as if to show how supremely blind was their rage, they turned it against mechanical printing-presses, which, in facilitating labour, greatly multiply the occasion for it. All these were stopped, and in some instances attempted to be broken, and some of the journals were obliged to suspend their publication for several days. Riotous processions perambulated the streets, carrying tricoloured flags, and vociferating in fearful accents the stanzas of the *Marseillaise*. Shortly a new object of clamour was supplied to these excited hordes by a proposition introduced into the Chamber of Deputies for abolishing the punishment of death for political offences. They were told by their leaders, anxious to seize any pretext to create disturbance, that this proposition was intended to save the lives of Charles X.'s ministers, then waiting in the fortress of Vincennes to be tried before the Chamber of Peers. This was sufficient to arouse all their sleeping anger, and they began to congregate after the manner which foreboded a general insurrection. In the faubourgs, on the public squares, in the gardens of the Tuileries, large assemblages gathered, and towards the evening of the 18th of October they moved towards the Palais-Royal, the gates of which were fortunately closed in time to prevent their ingress. Troops of the National Guard and soldiers of the line were drawn up inside, and after indulging for some time in savage yells of *Death to the ministers!* the multitude turned away, and evidently by concert the cry was raised of *To Vincennes!* Instantly a thousand torches blazed in the air, and like a torrent, on rushed the furious horde, singing in discordant chorus the refrains of *La Parisienne*. The governor of the fortress was prepared for this invasion, and he advanced to meet it. A gray-haired veteran, General Daumesnil, spoke calmly to the ringleaders of the insurgents, and told them that in case of necessity he was prepared to blow up the donjon of the castle rather than allow it to be stormed. His words had

* In introducing his motion for the vote of 5,000,000, M. Guizot enlarged on the necessity of undertaking works only of incontestable utility; and accordingly he proposed to finish some of the magnificent erections commenced under Napoleon, such as the Arc de l'Etoile, Madeleine, Polytechnic School, &c.; but it is evident that these could give employment only to labourers of a particular and confined class.

the desired effect, and they turned back without further prosecuting their murderous enterprise. Upon their return to Paris they again besieged the Palais-Royal, and with drums and shouts kept up a hideous uproar during the remainder of the night.

Whilst Paris was thus a prey to such frightful disorders, no precautions were taken by the authorities directly intrusted with its tranquillity to suppress them. Odillon-Barrot, in reward for his patriotism, had been appointed to the important office of prefect of the Seine, and Girod (de l'Ain) had, through the same recommendation, succeeded to the prefecture of police. Both the one and the other betrayed an imbecility which showed how unfitted they were for administrative functions. Barrot contented himself with issuing a proclamation which is assuredly one of the curiosities of history. He said, in reference to the disturbances which had troubled the peace of the city for so many days, that it was not vengeance the people of Paris demanded, for they were still the people of the Three Great Days, the bravest and most generous people on the earth, but justice; and this justice an inopportune measure (meaning the motion before the Chamber of Deputies) had suggested doubts about being realised. Hence all the agitation, which, he assured his fellow-citizens, was unnecessary, since the course of justice would not be interfered with, nor the just vengeance of the law be evaded. Therefore he concluded they were wrong to indulge in shouts for death to the accused ministers, as they might be interpreted to be a violence against justice, and might reflect discredit on the glorious Revolution so happily accomplished. By such language Barrot rendered himself extremely popular among the masses, but he forfeited all respect on the part of his superiors. His conduct imposed upon Guizot the necessity of adopting a step which at the time, and under the circumstances, was one of extraordinary boldness. A club had been formed called the *Society of the Friends of the People*, which was the centre of all the insurrectionary movements, and at which the most incendiary speeches were nightly delivered. The leaders of this society the minister caused to be summoned before the Court of Correctional Police for contravention of the 291st article of the Penal Code, which forbid any association comprehending above twenty persons, and meeting at stated times for a religious, literary, or political purpose, without a previous license from the government. The court held the article applicable to the Society of the Friends of the People, sentenced the persons arraigned before it to three months' imprisonment and a fine of 300 francs, and ordered the society to be dissolved.

Thus in little more than three months the new government found itself compelled to adopt repressive measures against clubs, those hotbeds of sedition and crime in France, and which awakened such fearful reminiscences from the worst days of the Con-

vention and the Directory. But they had little effect in quelling disorders; for such was the state of things at the moment, that the executive power was afraid to exert its authority in any decisive interference with what might be called a political demonstration. Thus the students were allowed with impunity to throw Paris into commotion and uproar by a procession with the busts of Foy and Manuel, to be inaugurated in the Pantheon, which was again to be consecrated to 'great men who had deserved well of the country.' In like manner the people thought fit to apotheosise the four sergeants of Rochelle in a tumultuous gathering on the Place de Grève; and subsequently in December, the funeral of Benjamin Constant gave rise to an exciting scene similar to the one enacted at the obsequies of General Foy. An immense crowd attended the body to the burial-place, and it was deposited in the national mausoleum with all the honours a grateful people could bestow. The death of Constant had taken place under very mournful circumstances. Although possessed of considerable house property, his habits were so careless or profuse, that he had died in positive destitution, and almost literally of starvation. His case bears a strong analogy with that of Sheridan in England: Sheridan, too, died in abject poverty, and his hearse was followed to Westminster Abbey, the place of repose to national celebrities, by a throng of princes, nobles, and knights, who eagerly sought, with ignoble effrontery, to catch for themselves a spark of that renown which emblazoned the dead orator, wit, and poet, whom they had basely allowed to perish in so unworthy a manner.

The existing ministry, formed immediately after the consummation of the Revolution, was composed of utterly discordant materials, and constituted from the first a coalition cabinet, torn by more than the usual share of intestine dissensions. Dupont (de l'Eure), in particular, the expression of the extreme-left, proved a very intractable and intolerable personage in council, who thought it becoming an ultra-Liberal to use insulting language not only to his colleagues, but to the king himself. Whenever he was thwarted in his opinion, he tendered his resignation, knowing well that, supported as he was by Lafayette, it could not without danger be accepted, since it was impossible for the king as yet to dissociate himself from the general and his party. Dupont, therefore, always carried his point, and he boasted to his friends of the cutting rebukes he had administered to Louis-Philippe, who doubtless endured with equanimity a large amount of vulgar impertinence from him. It is the characteristic of such men to plume themselves on outraging the kingly dignity when they can do so not only with impunity, but with applause; and the same was observed of the Girondins with regard to Louis XVI., whose hapless condition they embittered by a tyrannical insolence. The suppression by Guizot of the Society of the Friends of

the People, and the proclamation of Odillon-Barrot, brought matters to a crisis between the different parties in the cabinet. Dupont of course condemned the suppression, and it would seem that Lafayette, although no friend to clubs—for he had a keen remembrance of his old enemies the Jacobins—warned the king that such a course would end in a republic within a month; but Guizot defended his conduct as essential to the existence of the government, which was openly threatened with an immediate overthrow. As to Odillon-Barrot, he had by his insubordination, and by his mean compliances to mob violence, rendered his dismissal or the resignation of Guizot imperative. He also occupied the same vantage ground as Dupont; and knew that, under the protection of Lafayette, he could set at defiance the minister of the interior. Consequently he was very bold and stubborn, for already a contempt of superior authority was a passport to popularity, and Guizot fell in the conflict. He announced his resignation, which involved that of his Doctrinaire colleague, the Duke de Broglie, minister of public instruction and nominal president of the council. Molé and Perier, although not of the Doctrinaire sect, requested leave likewise to retire, and the king saw with great anxiety that the whole cabinet was on the point of dissolution. In this emergency he applied to Laffitte, over whom, from peculiar circumstances, he had considerable influence at the moment, and employed him to negotiate a compromise of differences if possible. This task Laffitte readily undertook, for he had, among other egotisms, a great idea of his conciliatory qualities; but he found it nevertheless quite hopeless; and it became eventually necessary for the king to determine from which party it behoved him to select his future advisers.

After the final victory over the Restoration, the Opposition of fifteen years, as it has been very erroneously called, naturally split into the original elements of which it had been compounded. Again there appeared in the Chamber of Deputies the old divisions of the right, the centre-right, the centre-left, the left, and the extreme-left. The two centres formed the great majority, and they were decidedly favourable to a conservative policy, as upheld by Guizot and Molé with different shades of opinion. Hence it was the policy of the left, of the party of the Hôtel de Ville, as it was usually designated, to provoke a dissolution of the Chamber, on the plea that the existing deputies were not elected to frame a constitution for France; and that, in fact, a Constituent Assembly ought to be forthwith summoned. Lafayette was a strenuous upholder of this doctrine; but the Chamber very wisely repudiated it, and was content to declare vacant the seats of those who, since their election, had accepted offices under the crown. These were very numerous, being no less than 113 in number; but they were for the most part re-elected, and the con-

stitution of the Chamber accordingly remained unaffected. After this proof of public opinion being adverse to extreme Revolutionary dogmas, the left ceased to clamour so loudly for a dissolution, since, without a violent change of the electoral body, it was clear that such a measure would lead to a yet more complete ascendancy of conservative doctrines. Nevertheless the king thought it expedient to form an administration of the left 'colour' for many reasons, the most cogent of which were, that he must keep on good terms with Lafayette, or at least that he could not quarrel with him, and that it would be better to give the ultra-Liberals a trial, which would probably end in exhibiting their total incapacity to conduct a government. In this respect Louis-Philippe judged with his usual sagacity, for there is assuredly no more certain way of ruining empty democrats, than by investing them with the reins of power, the mob itself being invariably the first to join in their execration. At the same time, he took care to place at the head of the new ministry a man who, by every consideration of personal interest, was attached to the cause of peace and order, and whom he himself could readily control. This was Laffitte, who belonged by profession to the left side of the Chamber, and was associated with Lafayette; although on several points, and especially with regard to foreign affairs, he was far from sharing the exaggerated sentiments of the old general. In forming his ministry, moreover, it was incumbent on him to conciliate at least the centre-left, otherwise he could have no chance of maintaining himself in the Chamber; and accordingly he compounded another motley cabinet, the symbol simply of decay and transition. Dupont continued in his former post of keeper of the seals; and M. Merilhou, a warm partisan of his, but otherwise destitute of any particular qualification, was appointed minister of public instruction and of religion. M. Montalivet received the portfolio of the interior, Marshal Soult that of war, M. d'Argout that of marine, and General Sebastiani accepted the all-important post of minister of foreign affairs, which was confided for a moment to the incapable hands of Marshal Maison. Laffitte himself joined the ministry of finance with the presidency of the council; and thus was definitively constituted the administration known as that of the 2d of November 1830.

The great necessity under which the king laboured of including in his council the ultra-Liberals in a large, if not a preponderating degree, arose from the approaching trial of the ministers of Charles X., which occasioned a dangerous fermentation in the public mind. It was known that hideous designs were entertained of seizing those unfortunate men, and subjecting them to a summary massacre, as had been too clearly evinced on the night of the 18th of October. If the support of Lafayette were withdrawn, it might be impossible to save them from the popular

fury, which all the arts of the vilest demagogues were directed to inflame; and their assassination would probably be the signal of another September, leading to consequences too dreadful to contemplate. This consideration was, as it ought to be, all-powerful with the king; and however Lafayette might suspect the intention ultimately to get rid of him, he was well content to throw around these ministers the shield of a magnanimous protection. Their history since the day when they were dismissed by Charles X. at St Cloud was curious: the old king had insisted they should remain by his person as their surest place of safety; and, much against their own inclinations they lingered accordingly at St Cloud until Charles removed to Trianon, which place they separately left in different disguises. Polignac succeeded in reaching the coast as the servant of the Marchioness de St Fargeau, but was discovered almost at the very moment of his entering a boat to cross to Jersey, and being carried off to Saint-Lô, was there locked up in prison. Peyronnet attempted to escape as a courier, but was recognised and arrested at Tours. The same fate befell Chantelauze and Guernon-Ranville in their endeavour to reach the Belgian frontier, and they also were apprehended. Montbel, Capelle, and D'Haussez more wisely concealed themselves in Paris, and waited to make their escape until the eagerness of pursuit had abated. The four captured ministers were transferred to Vincennes; and the Chamber of Deputies having resolved, by separate votes, that they should all be impeached for high treason, their trial was fixed to take place before the Chamber of Peers early in the month of December.

On the 10th of that month, accordingly, they were removed from Vincennes to the prison of the Petit Luxembourg, escorted by a detachment of National Guards and chasseurs of the line, accompanied by artillerymen. In the wood of Vincennes, and on the route, troops of soldiers were posted, and every precaution was taken to resist an attack upon the prisoners. In order the better to insure tranquillity during the trial, Lafayette had been appointed commander not only of all the National Guards, but of all the troops in Paris, and he had under him Generals Fabvier and Carbonnel. The Palace of the Luxembourg, in which the Chamber of Peers sat, was guarded like a fortress. On the morning of the 15th the court was constituted, and the trial commenced. Baron Pasquier officiated as president, and the number of peers assembled was considerable, including members equally of the old as of the new nobility. The surrounding galleries were crowded with spectators, and an intense interest was manifested when the prisoners were introduced to the bar. Polignac exhibited that cool indifference which characterised him; Peyronnet bent his brows with an air of haughty defiance; Chantelauze expressed the bodily pain he was suffering from an

acute malady; Ranville affected a composure he was fain to sustain by reading a pamphlet. About the facts against the accused there was and could be no dispute; but did they constitute the crime of high treason? This was the only question at issue, and it was argued on both sides with an abundance of forensic ingenuity and eloquence. As ministers, they were responsible for all the acts of the monarch; and although in this case it happened that the king himself had been already punished in his own person, that fact was not held to exonerate his advisers. The charge was, that the Charter had been violated by the ordinances of the 25th of July, which, being in themselves illegal, had been attempted to be enforced by placing Paris in a state of siege, and spilling the blood of the people when engaged in the defence of their rights. To this charge the only answer was, that by the 14th article of the Charter the king was entitled to make such provisions as he might deem essential for the safety of the State; and the answer might have been sufficient if success had crowned the effort; but since defeat had marked it, the interpretation was not admitted. Still, granting the guilt of the accused undoubted, under what precise category did it fall? Under the 56th article of the Charter (of 1814) it was found to come within the definition of treason, as attached to the responsibility of ministers; and on this decisive point the impeachment of the deputies was sustained. Then came the last momentous point: what was the punishment to be inflicted? On this subject the Charter was silent, and the Penal Code afforded no sufficient elucidation of the difficulty. Pasquier argued that the Chamber of Peers, when erected into a court of justice, was an exceptional court—that is to say, one endowed with extra-judicial functions—and that, in pronouncing its sentence, it was bound more to weigh expedient reasons of State than adhere to the strict letter of the law. Although the validity of this doctrine was demurred to, it was nevertheless adopted; and the peers withdrew into secret conclave to deliberate on their judgment.

The trial had lasted during six days, and all that time Paris was a scene of constant agitation and tumult. Not that the bulk of the people took much real interest in the condemnation of the four ministers, but the Anarchists and Revolutionists perceived, that unless they could strike a blow upon this occasion, it would be the last that might offer itself for an indefinite period. Whether, by exciting an insurrection, they induced the people to imbrue their hands in the blood of the prisoners, or by intimidation they compelled the peers to pass a sentence of death, their purpose was equally served. If they succeeded in the first, it would be easy to provoke a more general massacre and plunder under the sanguinary ægis of a republic; if they succeeded only in the latter, they would stain the monarchy of July with blood,

and render it irreconcilable with the courts of Europe. Such was the deep calculation of these terrible conspirators, in whose eyes the lives of men were of no consequence if they could promote their own destructive and subverting designs. The Luxembourg was continually surrounded by infuriated hordes vociferating *Death to the ministers! We will have their heads!* Those fearful figures were seen again which had been known in the horrors of the First Revolution—those demoniac forms which were called ‘Brigands,’ and which came none knew whence, but arose as from the earth whenever atrocities were to be committed. As the trial drew to a close, the demonstrations increased in violence, until on the 20th the storm reached its height. On that day the Luxembourg was besieged by belligerent myriads, whose stentorian menaces rang through the halls of the palace, and startled the judges in their seats, causing in them an involuntary shudder. Cannon were planted at all the inlets of the building, and strong bodies of troops were posted to defend it from attack. Lafayette nobly performed his duty: he was at his post the whole of this eventful day, nor did he quit it even at night. He had a bed prepared for him on the ground-floor of the palace, and remained, with a considerable force of the National Guards, during the entire night. The precaution was by no means superfluous, for the multitude lingered until a late hour, and the unfortunate prisoners could hear the savage execrations directed against them from the gloomy cells in which they were confined.

The peers, however, were not intimidated; and they would have been for ever disgraced if they had allowed themselves to be so. On the evening of the 21st they pronounced their judgment, which was to the effect that deportation being the punishment assigned to the crime of the accused, but France having no longer any possessions abroad fitted for the transportation of convicts, the said punishment was commuted to imprisonment for life and loss of all civil liberties. As it was not necessary the prisoners should hear their sentence in person, they were quietly removed, without attracting notice, to Vincennes before it was pronounced. Thus this celebrated trial was brought to a close, and happily without leading to any of those dismal consequences which had been foreboded of it. The lives of the culpable ministers of Charles X. were spared, but they were condemned to an imprisonment equally horrible with death itself; and at the same time the sinister schemes of the Republicans and Anarchists had been signally defeated. So far the issue was favourable, and all that could be desired; but the moment seemed singularly inappropriate to select for the dismissal of Lafayette, after the incontestable services he had rendered. It is true he persisted in giving in his resignation, perhaps without a sufficient cause. The Chamber of Deputies

passed a resolution on the 24th of December abolishing the title of Commander-General of the National Guards of the Kingdom, which was the very title borne by Lafayette; and as the resolution was adopted without his knowledge, he took it in high dudgeon, and immediately threw up his command altogether. The king besought him with many intreaties, sincerely or otherwise, to withdraw his determination; but he doggedly adhered to it. Laffitte also strongly urged him to retain the command of the Parisian guard. 'Think well of it,' he said to him: 'to-day you are the first citizen of the kingdom; to-morrow, confounded with the crowd, you will be no more when combating power than the first of the Anarchists.' Lafayette was not to be moved, and the command of the National Guard was, after some time, conferred on General Count Lobau. As his popularity had been somewhat impaired by his resolute conduct during the trial of the ministers, his retirement caused less excitement than might have been supposed; and the dictatorship he had so long exercised, assuredly for the benefit of his country, was laid down with a noble disdain on his part, and with a cruel ingratitude on the part of those he had benefited.

From this moment, so rapid is the extinguishment of men dependent for exaltation on the breath of the multitude, Lafayette sank into complete impotency; and he was reduced to the part of a croaker, of a prophesier of evil, ever growling against the tendency towards the establishment of a strong government. And what other government could for one moment secure anything like order and tranquillity in France? Five months had elapsed since the Revolution of July, and during that time not only Paris, but every town in the kingdom, had been the scene of incessant riot, tumult, and confusion, arising from the absence of an authority sufficient to suppress disturbance. In the Chamber of Deputies itself the detestable spectacle had been witnessed of the prime-minister, Laffitte, proposing a vote of thanks to the students of the schools for having assisted in maintaining order, when it was notorious that those turbulent youths were the prime instigators of every disturbance; and that instead of being encouraged in their mania for political manifestations, they ought to have been soundly chastised for their violations of collegiate discipline. It was a rare evidence of the spirit of the time that these youths contemptuously repudiated the compliments of the representatives of the people, and published manifestoes in which they set forth their 'profession of faith'—that is to say, the sort of government which in their wisdom they judged essential to France. But the continuance of these interminable disorders, this dislocation of all society, this intolerable tyranny of ruffians and urchins, had produced a profound impression on the public mind, and sickened all rational people with the very name of

liberty. What was the cost of this liberty, but the absolute ruin of all commerce and business of every description?—the destruction of peace and comfort, the perpetuation of discord and strife? One universal sigh escaped the community, and it was for the return of order on any terms, on any conditions. Charles X. himself, with a hundred thousand bayonets, would have been preferable to the existing anarchy. Among the middle and industrious classes especially this feeling was intense and overwhelming, for it was they who suffered most materially in their interests. It was impossible for them to carry on their operations of trade, since there were no buyers of their produce or their goods, and they could neither realise money nor procure facilities in the usual form of discounts. Their current bills they were unable to retire, and from thirty to forty failures were announced weekly in Paris alone. In such an emergency it behoved government to attempt to afford some relief, in order that the national industry might not wholly perish; and it accordingly resolved to advance 30,000,000 francs as a succour to commerce, on deposit of commodities and articles of merchandise. Thus the government was driven to become a huge pawnbroker amongst its other multitudinous callings, whilst to advance the money it was obliged itself to borrow at an exorbitant rate of interest. The collection of the taxes had been grievously interrupted by the Revolution and the subsequent disturbances; and from sheer exhaustion of funds, the resource of drafts on the receivers-general had ceased to be available.* Extraordinary exertions had been requisite to pay the half-year's dividends on the national debt due in September, and to the confidence reposed by capitalists in the personal character of Baron Louis might be solely ascribed the success of those exertions. Under Laffitte the issue of royal bills had become the only resource of the government; and so lamentably debased was its credit, that these could be negotiated only at short dates of three months, and at a discount of more than 5 per cent. This was a deplorable change from the state of things under the Restoration, when royal bills were negotiated for a whole year at less than 3 per cent.; but no government that ever prevailed in France had established so perfect a system of credit, through strict integrity and good faith, as that of the elder Bourbons. For the rest, the assistance granted to suffering commerce was quite inadequate to relieve it from depression; and instead of 30,000,000 francs, the applications lodged for relief amounted to the enormous figure of a milliard and a-half!

* The deficit in the receipts since July was appalling. In August, it amounted to 5,661,000 francs; in September, to 6,881,000; in October, to 5,454,000; in November, to 1,041,000; and in December, the worst month of all, to 12,877,000. With the increased expenditure, arising from aids to public works and commerce, and from a large augmentation of the army, the deficiency on the year was estimated at not less than 100,000,000 francs.

It was not only among the commercial, manufacturing, and trading interests that the devastating effect of the Revolution was made manifest, but also in what was called the monied interest the ruin was at least equally great and conspicuous. Against the latter a stupid prejudice is observable among ignorant populations, as if the owners of capital were enemies of the public welfare, instead of being its surest props and extenders; hence every wealthy banker that was overtaken by the pressure of the times, and compelled to suspend his payments, gave rise to vulgar congratulations; and dirty people rubbed their dirty hands and chuckled, as if some signal boon had alighted on society. But such occurrences wrought on all reflective minds the deepest gloom and consternation, and the continual fall of the public funds afforded a sufficient index of the alarm and insecurity that was everywhere prevalent. Laffitte alone, of all the bankers and politicians of the day, seemed indifferent to the terrible crisis in which the country was involved. He was one of those confident and sanguine men who can never acknowledge the existence of calamity; or if they do so, attenuate it to its smallest compass, and treat it as an accident they can readily repair. This remarkable insouciance Laffitte carried into his private affairs; and when the credit of his establishment was rapidly waning, he was himself unconscious of the fact, and exhibited a serene and smiling countenance, as if his own concerns and those of the State were on the most favourable footing. When at length the Bank of France refused to take any of his paper, he still treated the matter lightly, and coolly asked his royal friend and master to interfere with the president and the directors on his behalf. But this interference, to be effectual, could only be in the form of a guarantee; and such a guarantee King Louis-Philippe agreed to give, thereby pledging his name and property for the solvency of his minister. But although Laffitte was thus saved from a premature bankruptcy, the knowledge of such a circumstance necessarily impaired his beneficial action as a finance minister; and he encountered difficulties which to him proved insuperable, but which a man of better reputation might have easily smoothed. Moreover, the resignation of Lafayette injured him in his political influence, since it led to a material modification of the cabinet by the retirement of Dupont (de l'Eure), who was replaced by Merilhou, who belonged undoubtedly to the same party, but was very far from possessing the same prestige. The ministry of public instruction was given to M. Barthe, an advocate of celebrity, who had figured in the early scenes of the Hôtel de Ville, but who had since abused his wild democratical principles. Thus the original character of the ministry was greatly altered; nevertheless, with a president of the left 'colour' at its head, it could not expect to command a steady support from the majority of the Chamber of Deputies.

Although plunged in this fearful abyss of internal suffering and dissension, France maintained a high position in the settlement of the European questions that had arisen out of recent events. In every country of Europe the Revolution of July had caused an extraordinary sensation, and especially in those which were subjected to the artificial governments created by the acts of the Congress of Vienna. In Italy, and in several parts of Germany, insurrectionary movements took place; but it was in Belgium that the most important outbreak occurred. That country had been united with Holland in one government under the king of the Netherlands; but the two populations were distinct in manners, customs, and religion, the only tie between them being an advantageous commerce. Besides, from its long connection with France, and from the almost universal prevalence of the French language, Belgium was very sensitive to the least vibration from the latter; and in the course of September the Belgians had risen in arms, and after some considerable fighting, expelled the Dutch under the Prince of Orange and Prince Frederick of the Netherlands. In the course of 1829, in fact, some serious differences had arisen between King William and his Belgian subjects, which had even then become so serious as to attract the attention of foreign powers, particularly of Prussia and France, who both established camps towards the Belgian frontiers in readiness to act as circumstances might require. The government of Charles X. was then full of its scheme for extending France to the boundary of the Rhine, and a commotion in Belgium might have afforded it a pretext for taking the initiative such as would have tallied admirably with its design. But the storm blew over for the moment, only to return with yet greater violence under the exciting impulse of the French propaganda. A provisional government was established at Brussels composed of Hoogvoorst, Merode, Gendebien, Van de Weyer, Potter, and others, and subsequently a National Congress was convoked, which solemnly proclaimed the independence of Belgium.

Thus was a question started which excited the keenest interest in the courts of Europe, because it brought into controversy the treaties of Vienna. By those treaties the four great powers of that day—Russia, Austria, Prussia, and England—had guaranteed to the king of Holland the possession of Belgium, and this guarantee that monarch now formally invoked. On the other hand, Belgium was prepared to throw herself into the arms of France, and to choose a king from the family of Louis-Philippe in the person of his second son the Duke de Nemours. The opportunity was extremely inviting to French ambition; and the whole Revolutionary party was furious at the idea of any hesitation in assisting the Belgians, with whom the whole nation undoubtedly warmly sympathised. But Louis-Philippe was aware that any such

step would be tantamount to a declaration of war against combined Europe, and such a danger he was not prepared to provoke for so precarious an object. He preferred to use the means of negotiation for the adjustment of this difficult point; and Talleyrand, who had been from the first appointed to fill the embassy at London, received full instructions as to the policy it behoved him to pursue on behalf of France. The Duke of Wellington gave Talleyrand a very cordial reception, and he had already anticipated his views as to holding a European congress upon the affairs of Belgium, by overtures on the subject to the ministers of the other great powers. Accordingly, it was speedily arranged that the Conferences of London, as they had been called, should be resumed, which had been originally commenced upon the affairs of Greece, the representatives of Austria and Prussia being likewise called to take part in them.* The first protocol of the Conference was signed on the 15th of October, being simply in the nature of a preliminary formula; and on the 4th of November the second was signed, in which an armistice was recommended to the belligerent parties, and in which recommendation they both, after some demur, concurred. The negotiation thus happily commenced had not proceeded far when an adverse vote passed against the Wellington administration in the newly-elected House of Commons, and the Whigs once more succeeded to place and power. Lord Grey became first lord of the treasury; and Lord Palmerston, who had followed the standard of Canning in his secession from ultra-Toryism, became foreign secretary. Wellington and Aberdeen had been anxious to keep Belgium united with Holland, giving the former indeed a separate government, but under the sway of one of the sons of the king of the Netherlands. To this arrangement Palmerston was indifferent, if not hostile; and he allied himself closely with Talleyrand to prevent it from being carried into effect. There is no doubt that the intimate union between England and France prevented the three continental powers from taking a hostile position on the question at this moment, because they had been originally induced to engage in amicable conferences only through the great influence exercised upon them by the Duke of Wellington, and they were by no means prepared to contemplate the definitive separation of the two countries; moreover, a successful revolt of the Poles, who had driven the Russians out of Warsaw, and an insurrection in Switzerland, which speedily extended into Italy, made them more timid, and less inclined to incur the hazards of a general war. Under these circumstances, Palmerston and Talleyrand pushed their advantage to the utmost; and although the negotiation was

* The members of the Conference were Lord Aberdeen for England, Prince Talleyrand for France, Count Matuscevitcz for Russia, Baron Bulow for Prussia, and Prince Esterhazy for Austria.

spun out to a most tedious length, and the interminable number of protocols issued became a standing joke in Europe, they successfully carried their point in the end. Belgium was erected into an independent monarchy, shorn, indeed, of Luxembourg, which was a possession of the House of Nassau included in the German Confederation, and on its throne was placed Prince Leopold of Saxe-Coburg, widower of the Princess Charlotte, daughter of George IV., who, subsequently to his elevation, married a daughter of Louis-Philippe. Prince Leopold had been previously designed to fill the new throne of Greece; but after accepting it, he had, upon more mature reflection, declined the proffered royalty, prudently preferring a magnificent appanage in England, to undertaking the onerous government of a turbulent and semi-barbarous people like the Greeks. Prince Otho, second son of the king of Bavaria, was eventually selected to occupy the vacant post; and under the auspices of France, Russia, and England, he was seated in a royal palace at Athens, to work out the curious problem of a constitutional monarchy in a land overrun with ignorance and barbarism.

It was a subject of heartfelt congratulation, doubtless, that this knotty question of Belgium was thus far quietly settled without wrapping Europe in the flames of a hideous war. But the fearful alternative was with the utmost difficulty avoided, and to the great circumspection and moderation of Louis-Philippe was the preservation of peace mainly owing. The Republicans and Patriots, as they called themselves, were clamorous for war, utterly regardless of the evils that might be entailed on their own country or on others; and Laffitte himself, the prime-minister of France, delivered a speech in the Chamber of Deputies on the 1st of December full of threatening and bellicose sounds. 'France,' he said, 'will not permit the principle of non-intervention to be violated. We will continue to negotiate, and everything bids us hope that the negotiations will be successful. But whilst we negotiate we will arm! In a short time we shall have, independently of garrisons, 500,000 men in line, well-armed, well-organized, well-commanded. A million of National Guards will support them, and the king, if needs be, will place himself at the head of the nation.' This speech was received with vociferous acclamations, but it was well calculated to defeat the object of the negotiations by its irritating bombast. However, Talleyrand explained to his colleagues in the Conference that the king was obliged to tolerate such intemperate explosions even on the part of his ministers, and that they were to be taken as empty bravadoes, suited merely to cajole the popular passions. On the other hand, the English Tories railed against a French alliance, and sought with all their might to entangle the relations between the two countries by embarrassing questions touching the continued

occupation of Algiers. This was undoubtedly a very delicate subject, and one which required the nicest handling to avert an alienation, if not a rupture, between France and England. In the temper of the nation, it was impossible that the government of Louis-Philippe should abandon that conquest in Africa which had been so enthusiastically hailed by the French; and for the interest of peace itself, it was advisable that the acquisition should be retained, for the mere purpose of providing a beneficial distraction to the warlike tendencies of the people. Talleyrand was so convinced of the paramount importance to France of the British alliance, that he was in favour of sacrificing Algiers to secure it; but even so moderate a politician as Count Molé would not listen to the proposition, and by a judicious forbearance the subject was not pressed by the English ministers. It was permitted to hang, as it were, in abeyance; and France was tacitly permitted to take all the steps she deemed necessary not only to insure her original conquest, but to extend her dominion along the southern shore of the Mediterranean, and even to the base and ridges of the Great Atlas itself.

The principal danger to the continuance of peace, however, arose from the obstinate character of William, king of the Netherlands, who had once indulged the ambition of mounting the throne of France, and was not now content to see himself despoiled of the rich provinces he had acquired from the spoils of the French Empire. So long as there seemed a prospect of those provinces being devolved on one of his own sons, he adhered to the protocols of the Conference, and especially to those which secured to him Limbourg and Luxembourg as parts of the Germanic Confederation; but to the protocol of the 17th of April 1831, known since as the Treaty of the Eighteen Articles, by which additional advantages were conferred on Belgium in the prospect of its Congress electing Leopold as king, he decidedly objected, and entered a formal protest. The three sovereigns of Russia, Austria, and Prussia, who were so intent and who had so powerful an interest to uphold the treaties of Vienna, could not view this protest with indifference, nor deny that the king of Holland had equity with him in his reclamations. But they were too overawed by the alliance between France and England, and by the entanglements of the Polish and Italian insurrections, to support him in his opposition; and they accordingly abandoned him to his fate. Nevertheless he refused to submit; and prepared, despite all edicts to the contrary, to reconquer insurgent Belgium by force of arms. This led to a declaration of war against him on the part of England, so far as a hostile embargo on Dutch shipping in British ports might be so interpreted, and to a direct armed intervention on the part of France. In the early part of August, 50,000 soldiers under Marshal Gerard were marched into Belgium,

and they arrived very opportunely to save it from a reconquest, which would have created fresh embarrassments of an almost insurmountable character. On their appearance, the Prince of Orange withdrew his victorious troops behind the Dutch frontier, and Marshal Gerard fixed his head-quarters at Brussels, accompanied by the Dukes of Orleans and Nemours. His mission being thus easily accomplished, according to the terms of the protocol by which he had entered Belgium, he speedily evacuated it, and so falsified the prognostications which the Tory politicians and press of England had so freely indulged touching the presumed perfidy and ambition of the cabinet of the Barricades.

It had been part of the treaty concluded by Lafayette with the rebellious students of the Polytechnic School, on the steps of the Palais Bourbon on the 6th of August, that the Chamber of Deputies should be at an early date dissolved, and the sense of the country be consulted by a fresh general election. The Chamber had conformed to this treaty in its other provisions, and it now remained only that this last stipulation should be fulfilled. An immediate dissolution had been steadily resisted until certain laws had been passed which partook of the nature of organic statutes; and of these the most important were the laws regulating future elections of deputies, the constitution of the departmental and municipal councils, the position of the press, and the organisation of the National Guard. The last of these was passed on the 19th of April 1831, and on the following day the Chambers were prorogued with a view to their prompt dissolution. In the meantime another ministerial change had occurred. Laffitte was offensive to the majority of the Chamber, and he was scarcely on terms of confidence with his own colleagues, particularly General Sebastiani, who conducted foreign affairs almost entirely without his participation. Perceiving himself thus slighted, he tendered his resignation, which was at once accepted by the king, and Casimir-Perier was appointed to form a new administration. This he had little difficulty in accomplishing, on the principle of a fusion of the two centres; and on the 13th of March the new cabinet was constituted. Soult, Montalivet, Barthe, D'Argout, and Sebastiani, continued to hold their seats in the council, but with some change in their offices. The first and last alone retained their former portfolios; Montalivet became minister of public instruction; Barthe minister of justice; and D'Argout minister of commerce. Baron Louis was again appointed to the ministry of finance, and Admiral de Rigny to that of marine. Casimir-Perier himself combined the ministry of the interior with the presidency of the council.

This change of ministry had been heralded by a frightful commotion in Paris on the 14th of February. That day was the anniversary of the assassination of the Duke de Berry, and the

Royalists determined to solemnise it by a funeral service in the church of St Germain l'Auxerrois. Foreseeing that such a celebration would lead to a disturbance, the government had made preparations to preserve tranquillity, but they were far from being effectual. An immense crowd flocked from all quarters of the city to the old church, where the ceremony was to be performed, and amongst the riotous multitude the students were as usual conspicuous. A young priest had the imprudence to appear in the portico of the building bearing a portrait of the Duke de Bordeaux; he was immediately seized with shouts of fury, and the church was stormed. A horrible scene ensued; with cries of rage and blasphemy every sacred object was destroyed, and the edifice completely gutted. From the church the rioters proceeded to the palace of the archbishop, which in like manner they forcibly entered, and once more destroyed everything within it. They next assailed the venerable cathedral of Nôtre-Dame, but by a timely precaution it had been sufficiently garrisoned with National Guards, who succeeded in saving it from an invasion. But from almost every church in Paris the cross was thrown down; and wherever the *fleurs de lis* were painted or sculptured they were obliterated. In the Palace of Justice the statue of Malesherbes was hardly saved from being broken to pieces; and until three in the afternoon, every violence was committed that suggested itself to the inflamed and brutal passions of the mob. At that hour the military force availed to restore order; and so was brought to an end one of the most disgraceful popular outbreaks that ever occurred even in Paris. It was in the height of the Carnival, and the inhabitants pursued their joyous avocations with the same zest as if nothing had occurred to disturb the peaceful tenor of society. On the same evening nearly the whole city was illuminated; never were the masquerades more numerous, jocund, or diversified; never did the lightsome population dance and sing with more obstreperous glee, or with a more perfect oblivion of the past, the present, and the future.

According to the Republican writers, who confess the fact with a sigh and a tear, the Revolution of July closed with the retirement of Lafayette in December—that is to say, the government thenceforth became too strong to be violently overthrown, although many a bloody and desperate effort was made to effect the object. From this period they date the sovereignty of what they call the *bourgeoisie*, or the middle-classes, of whom Louis-Philippe was the organ and the representative, and to whom they avow a hatred infinitely more intense and vindictive than towards the old aristocracy, whose ruined cause they affect to commiserate. The spirit with which they assail this bourgeoisie is inexpressibly malevolent, charging upon it not only a diabolical selfishness, but a systematic robbery of the labouring poor. They allege that the

course of legislation has been exclusively directed to the advantage of this favoured class, and that the interests of the *prolétaire*, or working-man, have been not only overlooked, but flagrantly violated. They profess themselves to be actuated by a desire to repair this injustice, and to raise the *prolétaire* to his just rank in the sphere of society. This they propose to accomplish, in the first place, by the establishment of a republic, and subsequently by an improved organisation of industry, in which the State should interfere for the protection of the working-man, and assure to him for comparatively light labour a remuneration sufficiently ample to procure him a share of the luxuries and pleasures of life. Such doctrines could not fail to be acceptable to the bulk of the population, and to be eagerly embraced by the seditious populace of Paris in particular, who were ever more ready to engage in a tumult or a conflict than to earn the wages of peaceful labour. They were upheld with all the ability of men practised in the sophistries of schools, who easily played upon the ignorance and passions of the gross multitude, and moulded innumerable dupes into instruments of their own individual designs.

At the same time there were many sincere and virtuous men among the Republicans, who held the fatal creed that they were justified in employing any means to accomplish the ends they deemed beneficial; and who were prepared not only to encounter any personal risks, but to plunge their country in all the horrors of civil strife and foreign war to promote the cause they had sworn to defend.* It was no use arguing with such men, for their convictions were not to be shaken; it was of no use to ask them why they insisted upon a republic, which, they knew from prior experience, must end only in a despotism or an anarchy, for they answered by referring to the glaring inequalities of the existing system, to its iniquities, to its incontestable outrages on poverty. They were filled with an enthusiasm which partook of the sublime, and they cared for no punishments which a law they disclaimed might inflict upon them. They gloried rather to be martyrs in the holy cause of philanthropy, and at the bar of the tribunals nobly avowed the deeds which were charged against them as crimes. Thus in the process instituted against some of the prominent actors in the disturbances of December, of whom the principal were three young men—by name Trelat, Cavaignac, and Guinard—it seemed as if the court itself and the government were on their trial rather than the accused, who indulged a freedom of speech, a bitterness of sarcasm, a boldness and a con-

* On the subject of war, General Lamarque, who had come out recently as a violent democrat, delivered himself of the following precious apothegm:—'War,' said he, 'is a cement so powerful, it surrounds a throne with so brilliant a lustre, it gives to a new dynasty such deep roots, that it is politic to initiate it even without motives.'

fidence, such as elicited from the sympathising audiences irrepressible applause. They were acquitted; and in a delirium of joy the multitude carried them to their homes, celebrating with lusty shouts of gratulation the great triumph achieved by the champions of the people.

In a society thus profoundly convulsed, and in which abstract questions of politics and morality were so eagerly discussed, it was natural that ideas should be reproduced which had often in the Christian era, and even before it, been promulgated for the amelioration of mankind. Such were the ideas propounded by St Simon, an enthusiast belonging to the noble family of that name, and subsequently inculcated by his disciples *Enfantin*, *Rodrigues*, *Bazard*, *Leroux*, &c. The doctrines of St Simon were professedly founded on those of the Gospel, and he gave to his latest work the appellation of 'The New Christianity' ('*Le Nouveau Christianisme*'). To the equality, and to the worthlessness if not guilt of wealth, as preached by Christ, he added the sinfulness of marriage, which he regarded as the type of an unholy traffic. The whole fabric of society, and all its jurisprudence, he held to be vicious; and although he himself did not advocate a community of goods, his followers did so subsequently with great success. In the conception of dissolving society into its primitive elements there is always something engaging and attractive, because the hideous disparities which disfigure artificial life seem to speak of injustices equally monstrous and revolting. How is it, that if society be well-regulated, five-sixths of its members are doomed to a privation and misery from which they can never hope to emerge, whilst a small minority engross honours, riches, enjoyments, even to satiety? This is a question which, when ardent minds begin to ponder, rouses strange thoughts; and it is not wonderful that numerous panaceas have been proposed for the rectification of an evil which is doubtless the opprobrium of modern civilisation. But the misfortune is, that these have all been marked by an extravagance which has at once vitiated their practical utility, and they have been based upon hypotheses purely visionary. Nevertheless, the doctrines of the St Simonians began to make an extraordinary progress after the Revolution of July; and such became the flourishing state of the sect, that they were enabled to open colleges and schools for the edification of all who chose to attend. Thousands flocked to hear the lectures of these new evangelists, who boldly preached that they alone could unfold the truth by which not only France, but all the world might be saved. The ferment they created was prodigious, and at length the government deemed it necessary to interfere. Some of the principal leaders were apprehended, and eventually prosecuted for promulgating opinions dangerous to the peace and order of society; the colleges and schools were shut up; and the fana-

tical residue of the sect was induced to submit to a voluntary expatriation. Thus were the St Simonians suppressed for the time; but they lived in the everlasting force of their general principles, and they were followed by divers theorists, who have built up a structure among them, which has rooted itself upon a wide foundation, and culminated into that fearful compound of vice and degradation known under the name of **SOCIALISM**.

The fortunate adjustment of the controversy that had arisen out of the revolt of the Belgians, although the king of Holland persisted in refusing to acknowledge the new kingdom of Leopold, had removed one imminent cause of war in Europe; but the rebellion of the Poles, and the insurrectionary movements of the Italians, tended to revive the danger in the course of 1831. Among the French a warm sympathy existed towards both of these oppressed populations, which was doubtless highly honourable to them, but which they carried to an imprudent pitch when they urged their government to plunge into a war for the purpose of manifesting it. Violence and bloodshed seem so natural to the mind of a French Republican, that he regards the peaceful settlement of international disputes as a misfortune, and can see in such a result only the disgrace and ignominy of France, which he holds is entitled to violate all compacts in pushing her revolutionary propaganda. From the first outbreak of the rebellion in Poland, the excitement in France had been ardent and intense; but when the unexpected intelligence arrived that the Poles were everywhere successful, and had expelled the Grand Duke Constantine from Warsaw, a perfect delirium ensued, and the people were taught to mingle with their cries, in their repeated commotions, invocations for the freedom of Poland. But the government of Louis-Philippe carefully abstained from giving the slightest encouragement to the Poles, and carried its deference towards the Russian czar so far as to recall from Constantinople General Guilleminot, who had without authority engaged in intrigues to excite the Ottoman Porte to take advantage of the opportunity, and declare war against Russia. Consequently, although the Poles remained masters of the country during the winter of 1830-31, it was certain they must be inevitably crushed in the ensuing summer; for, independently of the overwhelming force of the Russians, they had, as in every time of their melancholy history, become divided among themselves into inveterate factions. Nevertheless, when the tidings really arrived, and it was officially announced in the 'Moniteur' that Warsaw had fallen on the 7th of September into the power of the Russian general Paskewitch, a violent perturbation seized upon all Paris; and as by a common instinct the population rushed into the streets, vociferating with passionate declamations, and flocked gregariously towards the Chamber of Deputies, where a vehement debate had

commenced upon the foreign policy of the government. The discussion was opened by Mauguin, who attacked the ministry for betraying basely the glory and the interests of France in Belgium, in Poland, and in Italy; and he was followed in the same strain, but in more vivid and picturesque language, by General Lamarque, who had been returned for the first time in the recent general election. Sebastiani defended with calmness and ability the conduct of the ministry, showing that the influence of France had been exerted as beneficially as circumstances permitted; and M. Thiers startled his liberal colleagues by boldly maintaining that it was impossible, from the geographical position and defects of Poland, to resuscitate it into an independent State; a fact which had been demonstrated during the whole revolutionary war, and by the conviction of Napoleon in the very acme of his grandeur. Lafayette undertook to refute this extraordinary assertion of M. Thiers, and launched into a poetic homily upon the great mission of France, which he considered that of a knight-errant for the rescue of nations from thralldom. Such sentiments were egregiously applauded; for in a popular assembly ideas of apparent heroism and chivalry, however wild and incongruous, will generally evoke a generous but irreflective approbation. In reality, true heroism consisted not in rushing madly into a war which would have brought upon all Europe, and more especially upon France itself, inappreciable calamities, but rather in resisting insensate clamours, and in seeking wisely to avert a scourge in whose train evils are certain, but advantages precarious and doubtful. So thought the majority of the Chamber; and beyond adding to the excitement of the masses, the democratic leaders gained nothing by their furious diatribes, and all reasonable people rejoiced that their sway over affairs had so happily ceased.

In Italy the insurrection had swept through nearly the whole of the Peninsula; and the firm determination of Austria to suppress it, involved precisely that principle of non-intervention which France had pledged herself, by the mouthpiece of M. Laffitte when prime-minister, resolutely to abide by and uphold. This naturally exposed the government to the reproaches of the Opposition, which failed not to redouble its attacks under so favourable an occasion; and Sebastiani found it difficult to rebut them. Austria claimed a right, founded on family ties and positive stipulations, to interfere in the Italian principalities which belonged to princes of the House of Austria—such as Modena, Parma, and Tuscany; and the exercise of this right France tacitly admitted, or at least did not strenuously contest. But if this very dubious claim might be conceded, it was very different with reference to the dominions of the Pope; and an Austrian intervention with regard to them was sure to excite violent reclamations in France, and deeply embarrass her government. Nevertheless,

Bologna was occupied by the Austrians, and subsequently Ancona, where the authority of the Pope was fully restored; but to prevent the recurrence of such untoward accidents, it was agreed between France and Austria that the other great powers should be invited to join in a note to the Pope, recommending him to institute certain reforms in the civil administration of the Papal territories; and such a note was accordingly presented to his Holiness on the part of all the five great powers. To this enlightened warning Gregory XVI. gave no heed, and the inhabitants of Romagna once more flew to arms. The Papal soldiery, although composed of little better than banditti, worsted the insurgents, and committed incredible barbarities in Cesena, Forlì, and other places into which they entered. Upon the application of the Pope, 10,000 Austrians were again marched to Bologna, who were received by the inhabitants with joy as protectors from the licentiousness of the troops of their pastor and sovereign; and so the Italian insurrection was finally quenched. But Casimir-Perier resented this second intervention of Austria; and to save himself from attacks in the Chamber, he resolved to adopt a very extraordinary measure, which was no other than suddenly to seize Ancona, and to occupy it in revenge for the Austrian occupation of Bologna. This freebooting expedition he accordingly sent forth in February 1832, consisting of a ship of the line, *Le Suffren*, and two frigates, carrying 1100 soldiers; who, on the night of the 22d of February, successfully effected the object, and took possession of the town and citadel of Ancona, on which were hoisted the tricoloured flag, that had not waved in Italy for more than fifteen years. This singular transaction occasioned very warm remonstrances from the Papal court, and gave excessive umbrage to all the other cabinets of Europe; but it answered the purpose of the French minister, by affording him what was deemed a triumphant answer to his adversaries when they assailed the policy of France as weak and derogatory to the national dignity.

Meanwhile, whilst the powers of Europe were intent only on their revolutions and revolts, on their mutual jealousies and hatreds, a strange and mysterious visitation had crept into its heart, and spread to its extremities, causing in its progress an unutterable woe and consternation. First from Asia, from the banks of the Indus and the Ganges, had the pestilential current swept, until, keeping a steady course to the west and the north-west, it had burst into Europe along the rivers of Russia, and desolated all the chief towns of that extensive empire. The unknown malady it bore raged with dreadful severity at St Petersburg, killing more than 1000 persons daily; and so horrible were its features, that the people attributed it to poison administered by the doctors. This belief caused a popular insurrection,

which speedily attained an alarming height, and was suppressed only by the admirable firmness and presence of mind displayed by the emperor. From Russia this scourge penetrated into Poland, where among its first victims were the Grand-Duke Constantine and General Diebitsch, whom, by the ignorant and the malevolent, Nicholas was accused of having caused to be poisoned. Afterwards it spread rapidly into almost every country of Europe, and occasioned dismal ravages wherever it appeared. Many generations had passed since anything like a plague had been known in the civilised world, and therefore this Asiatic cholera aroused an apprehension the more profound, which only accelerated its virulence. The European doctors were totally unacquainted with its proper treatment, and indeed had no knowledge whatever of the disease. In Paris it broke out with extreme malignity in March 1832, and soon reached a height greater than had been known in any other European capital except St Petersburg. From 400 to 500 deaths occurred daily; and in the month of April, the whole number of deaths amounted to 12,700. The ignorant populace conceived the idea that it was owing to the meat and vegetables sold in the markets, and the water in the public fountains, being poisoned; and when this idea gained possession of the people in the faubourgs, they at once rose and perambulated the streets in dense masses, rending the air with cries for vengeance, and with maledictions on the poisoners. Many were the unfortunate victims whom, in their blind rage, they subjected to torments and to death; tearing some literally to pieces, hanging others to lamp-posts, and massacring others with swords and pikes. Scarcely any attempt was made to put an end to these atrocities, for all were paralysed by the same terror, and the city was abandoned at once to desolation and to anarchy.*

All of its inhabitants who could afford to leave Paris fled from it with precipitation. The members of the two Chambers were the first to set the example, and legislative labours were suspended. But the king and his family continued to reside in the Tuileries, which had again become the seat of the court, occasionally retiring to Neuilly; and the prince-royal, the Duke of Orleans, often visited the hospitals, and went boldly among the cholera patients. On one of these occasions he was accompanied

* The populace of Paris displayed the same suspicions and hatred towards the medical men as the more barbarous population of St Petersburg, and they incurred great dangers in the execution of their duties. They generally adopted the disguise of working-men when traversing the city; and, like their brethren in other countries, they manifested an admirable courage and devotion in so trying a crisis. The members of the medical profession are undoubtedly exposed to more risks, are called upon for more sacrifices, are subjected to more harassing toils, than those of any other profession; and in the inappreciable good they administer to the poor alone, they have claims to public gratitude which are seldom recognised, and more rarely rewarded.

by Casimir-Perier, who was of a nervous and irritable temperament, and was, moreover, much enfeebled by previous disease. The sight of the dying and the dead, presenting such hideous forms of humanity, made a terrible impression upon his mind, and he speedily betokened the symptoms by which the malady was wont to announce its approach. These were not severe at first, and gave but trifling alarm; eventually they increased in violence, and assumed the malignant type, against which medical aid was of no avail: he expired on the 16th of May under all the exaggerated features of the pestilence. His death caused no immediate change in the administration, which continued to exist as before, save that Montalivet took himself the additional duties of his former office of minister of the interior. Nevertheless the cabinet remained without a head, no person being named to succeed Perier as president of the council.

In January and February, previous to the outbreak of the cholera, two plots had been discovered by the police, formed, as it would seem, for the overthrow of the government. The first was composed of a party of incendiaries, who attempted to set fire to the towers of Nôtre-Dame, but were apprehended in time to prevent them from doing much mischief. The second was of Royalist complexion, and was upon a much more comprehensive scale. Large sums of money were distributed, and between 2000 and 3000 conspirators were engaged in the plot. These were to assemble in different quarters, and march simultaneously on the Tuileries on a night when a large ball was given at the palace, force an entrance, and carry off the whole of the royal family. As the police took care to arrest the principal persons implicated, the only demonstration that took place was at a tavern in the Rue des Prouvaires, which has given its name to the abortive scheme. But a far more serious affair occurred on the occasion of the funeral of General Lamarque, which took place on the 5th of June. Lamarque had been distinguished in the imperial army, and especially for his resolute conduct during the Hundred Days. He was a keen Bonapartist, which did not prevent him from advocating strong democratical principles.* He was a great favourite, in consequence, with the Republicans, who were always rejoiced to enlist among them military men of any eminence; and they resolved to celebrate his obsequies with as imposing a display as they could muster. There is no doubt a regular plan was formed for organizing an insurrection out of this event, by which it was hoped the throne of Louis-Philippe would be subverted. From

* General Lamarque suffered from a long illness before his death, which he bore with characteristic firmness. One thought was ever predominant in his mind, as with most of his countrymen; and he repeatedly exclaimed to his friends around him, 'I die with regret at not having avenged France for the infamous treaties of 1815. That Duke of Wellington! I am sure I should have beaten him!'

an early hour all Paris was in movement, and an immense procession was arranged to escort the hearse to the Pantheon. The members of the different clubs appeared with decorations, the students of the schools wore their peculiar costume, the National Guards their uniforms—all hoisted the tricoloured cockade, and more than a hundred banners floated in the air. Lafayette, Marshal Clauzel, Laffitte, and Manguin, held the four corners of the pall; the hearse was drawn by a body of young men; and immediately behind it followed a band of refugees, who called themselves the proscribed of the tyranny of kings. The procession passed through the principal streets of the metropolis, and round all the squares on the line of road, pausing at every public building, particularly the hotels of the ministers, and raising shouts of *Vive la republique!* The soldiers on duty at the different posts were compelled to present their arms as the funeral car passed; and every attempt was made to provoke a quarrel, and if possible to cause bloodshed, so that the multitude might be the more readily inflamed. However, the procession reached the halting-place without any sinister accident, and the whole multitude was drawn up on the quay between the Bridge of Austerlitz and the canal of St Martin. Lafayette, Manguin, and others, delivered orations on the virtues of the deceased; and they were followed by speakers of a more violent hue, who declaimed against the reactionary policy of the government in stirring language, and exhorted their hearers to be ready for one more decisive effort to save the country.

The government, through the active exertions of Montalivet, and Gisquet, prefect of police of the Seine, had taken the amplest precautions possible to suppress any insurrectionary movement, which it had sufficient information was in reality contemplated. Nine regiments of infantry and eight of cavalry were posted in Paris, comprising 23,000 men, distributed in barracks and in different localities, together with 2000 of the municipal guard on horse and foot. In addition, nearly 30,000 troops were drawn into the vicinity of Paris, and kept ready for instant service when called upon. The collision which the Republicans were determined to provoke speedily took place. After the speeches had been delivered on the Place Mazas, Lafayette was seated in an open carriage, and dragged in triumph towards the Hôtel de Ville, where it was proposed to install him as chief of a provisional government. The vain old man freely gave himself to this audacious scheme, for his self-love had been cruelly wounded by the circumstances of his retirement, and he was again prepared to rush headlong into a fresh revolution. A detachment of dragoons was drawn up on the Quai Morland; but it opened its ranks to allow Lafayette to pass, which did not prevent it from being assailed with stones and missiles from the tops of houses.

Sundry urchins, as in July, crept under the bellies of the horses, and wounded the soldiers as they sat in their saddles. The latter, however, displayed an exceeding forbearance, and not a single man among the riotous multitude was injured. A second detachment of dragoons was led by the colonel of the regiment down the Boulevard Bourdon, to disengage the first, thus taking the insurgents directly in flank. At its appearance shouts of rage resounded; and whilst the foremost ranks of the crowd opposed the progress of the dragoons, a barricade was hastily raised, and a fire immediately opened upon the military. The horse of the colonel was killed beneath him, the lieutenant-colonel was wounded, and a captain was shot dead. The dragoons recoiled, and shouts of exultation rose from the triumphant rebels. The planners of the plot had fully succeeded, and the thirst for combat was fully aroused among the irascible multitude. Attacks were directed on all the military posts in the vicinity, which were carried after conflicts more or less sanguinary; the immense granaries of reserve on the Boulevard Bourdon were taken possession of; the Place de la Bastille was stormed and fortified; and the insurrection extended to the left of the Seine beyond the Halle aux Vins and the Caserne of the Veterans, resting for support on the Faubourg St Antoine, and defended by innumerable barricades. As for the body of General Lamarque, to whose manes this bloody conflagration was to be consecrated, it had been carried across the Bridge of Austerlitz by an escort of young men, who, meeting a body of municipal guards near the Jardin des Plantes, forthwith attacked them, and routed them with slaughter. The guards returned to the fight, aided by two companies of carabineers, and in their turn put the assailants to flight. The funeral car remained in possession of the conquerors, and it was carried off in the direction of the Barriere d'Enfer, where it was cast aside amid the excitement of the battle, which caused it to be forgotten by both friends and foes.

Although the people of the faubourgs, who were sufficiently sickened by the disastrous results to them of the last Revolution, gave but a very partial support to the present insurrection, it included many thousands of stalwart and valorous men, who executed the orders of their chiefs with a vigour and intrepidity worthy of the best of causes. Many of the National Guards were among the insurgents, and the reckless youths of the Polytechnic School had broken bounds the moment the contest extended into their quarter. They were received with enthusiastic acclamations, and the people pressed around them, offering to follow wherever they would lead. Under this impulse the insurrection rapidly gained ground, and by six in the evening more than half of Paris was held by the rebels; the great artery of the Rue St Martin was in their hands, and diligently planted with barricades;

the approaches to the Ile de la Cité were in their possession by the Pont Notre-Dame, the Pont d'Arcole, and the Petit-Pont Hôtel-Dieu, and they held every post of importance in the Marais, and along the left bank of the Seine. They were well supplied with arms, for they had rifled all the gunsmiths' shops, and ransacked the arsenal, besides the muskets they had taken from the military in the barracks and posts they had stormed. Everything foreboded, therefore, the final success of the revolt, and another violent subversion of the monarchical government.

From the first commencement of the outbreak, the *rappel* had been beaten for the National Guards to muster; but a remarkable indifference was manifested by those civic guardians of the peace, and comparatively few joined their colours. In order that a unity of command might be secured, General Mouton, Count de Lobau, commandant of the National Guards, was appointed generalissimo of all the forces in and around Paris. A council of war was held at his head-quarters, at which Marshal Soult appeared with an anxious and hesitating countenance. A considerable degree of alarm was felt, and a proposition was even made for evacuating the capital, and withdrawing the troops to the Champ de Mars. This extraordinary proposition is said to have been supported by Soult; but it is manifestly a mere calumny fabricated against him by the enraged Republicans, who would seem to have placed some reliance on his support, and had attempted to tamper with his loyalty. The Prefect Gisquet displayed the greatest courage and resolution; he maintained the expediency of calling all the surrounding troops into Paris, and in the meantime of attacking the insurgents in all the posts which gave them the command of the external communications. This advice prevailed; orders were despatched for the advance of the troops from St Denis and Courbevoie; and the rebels were beaten from several important positions. This turn of success decided the fate of the insurrection. The soldiers, who had in many instances exhibited symptoms of hesitation, and almost of defection, resumed their confidence; and it being rumoured that the movement was in reality a Royalist one, the National Guards began to turn out in force and with alacrity. The insurgents, moreover, were destitute of a superior direction, as Marshal Clauzel and others hung back from committing themselves until the result of the contest appeared more decided. It is undoubted that if Clauzel, or any commander of eminence, had placed himself at the head of the insurrection, it would have succeeded: but as it was, all strategical combination was wanting, and during the night of the 5th the predominance of the Royal cause was secured. Many of the barricades were left without defenders; and on the morning of the 6th the insurrection was driven back on the Place de la Bastille and the Faubourg St Antoine, where a few hundreds

of the most desperate Revolutionists still opposed a front of defiance.

The king and his family were at St Cloud, but the former repaired to Paris as soon as intelligence reached him of the actual rising against his government. This was a most wise and prudent step on his part, and contributed not a little to the discomfiture of the rebels. Several interviews were held by him with men of political importance, to deliberate on the aspect of affairs; and amongst the rest with Thiers, who, although unconnected with the administration, busied himself assiduously in support of the cause of order and monarchy. On their parts the chief members of the Opposition had met at the house of Laffitte, Lafayette, Barrot, Manguin, Arago, and others being present; and thinking themselves in a position to dictate terms to the king, had appointed a deputation to wait upon him, with the view of arranging the conditions upon which he should be allowed to remain upon the throne. By the time, however, this deputation reached his presence, things had materially changed; and instead of opening a discussion on the longer continuance of a monarchy, it suited its tone to the altered circumstances, and contented itself with urging on him a merciful treatment of the misguided people, and an amendment of policy which might give them greater satisfaction. Louis-Philippe replied, that in the punishment of the guilty the provisions of the ordinary law alone would be employed; but that until the insurrection was completely suppressed, he would take such vigorous measures as the exigency imperiously required. On the same day, accordingly, the 6th of June, a royal ordinance countersigned by Montalivet was published, declaring Paris in a state of siege; another, countersigned by Soult, dissolving the Polytechnic School; and a third, also countersigned by Montalivet, disbanding the corps of artillery of the Parisian National Guards. By the evening of that day the Republicans were forced in their remaining strongholds, and tranquillity was once more restored to the ever-turbulent and the ever-discontented city of Paris.

It might appear surprising that within two years of a complete revolution and a change of dynasty, whilst the embers of a frightful pestilence were yet smouldering, and when the ruinous consequences of civil broils were palpable to all understandings, that the Republicans were enabled to get up so formidable an insurrection against the government of Louis-Philippe. In reality, a wide-spread disaffection already existed against that government, simply because it had failed to realise notions absolutely vague and indefinite. When Lafayette talked of a monarchy surrounded by Republican institutions, he scarcely knew what he meant; for where was the precedent of such a monarchy, and how was it to be constituted? It might well be that a monarchy

should co-exist with democratical institutions, since it is a very groundless idea that a wealthy and hereditary aristocracy is essential to the support of a monarchy; generally, by its selfishness and corruption, it endangers the institution it is said to uphold. Now the institutions given to France after the Revolution of 1830 were in principle and practice sufficiently democratic, since the whole power of legislation was vested in the Chamber of Deputies, the elective body of the national legislature; whilst the Chamber of Peers, which Lafayette and the Republicans affected to regard with such jealousy, was shorn not only of all real influence, but of that hereditary privilege which was so objectionable to political theorists. In addition, Lafayette wished to make the Chamber of Peers elective; but he could by no possibility have rendered it more innocuous as regarded the public liberties. But then the Chamber of Deputies might have been elected upon a more popular basis; by universal suffrage, for example. This was a question that had been mooted in the discussions upon the electoral law; and it had been decided, without exciting any large share of altercation, that the qualification of an elector should be fixed at the payment of 200 francs yearly of direct taxes, being one hundred less than required according to the Charter of Louis XVIII. This might be unwise, might create an invidious distinction, might limit to too inconsiderable an amount the constituent body; but still it was the law, and could be modified or repealed only by the constituted public powers. But in truth no attempt of this sort was made; yet the government was railed at for its reactionary policy, which was in strict accordance with the views of the majority of the popular branch of the legislature, and directed to restore order and tranquillity in a country which had been convulsed through all the ramifications of society. In the execution of this object it was unavoidable that the executive power must seem occasionally harsh and imperative, and so give rise to interested clamours against it. Even in the mere repression of disturbances it was accused of tyrannical conduct; and when it sought, by the agency of the courts of justice, to punish the authors of such disturbances, it was likened to the government of the Restoration, taunted with an oblivion of the means by which itself had been created, loaded with abuse if it succeeded in gaining convictions, insulted with contemptuous exultation if it chanced to fail in its desired conclusions.

But it was the foreign policy of Louis-Philippe which was the subject of the most envenomed declamation, and on which he was charged with a treasonable neglect of the interests of France. In truth the Republicans were desirous of a war, and were maddened beyond endurance as they saw each incident that promised to provoke it peaceably adjusted. They had not

doubted that the affair of Belgium would inevitably lead to an insoluble controversy; and for lack of better aliment, they praised the firmness of the king of Holland, and extolled him as a prince truly alive to his dignity and his reputation. Through his obstinacy in holding out against the decisions of the Conference, they had indulged a lingering hope that a quarrel might yet arise; and when the final treaty of the twenty-four articles, signed on the 15th of October 1831, tended to dissipate this hope, they still turned to Italy as offering a goodly chance. In their desperation they thought even of Spain, whose infatuated monarch had hesitated to acknowledge the King of the Barricades; and Don Miguel, the usurper of Portugal, had actually drawn on himself the thunders of French cannon by his tyrannical conduct towards certain French subjects. Admiral Roussin sailed into the Tagus on the 11th of July 1831, and by the threat of a bombardment, speedily brought the government of Miguel to make the required reparations. But this was the solitary act of aggression which the government of Louis-Philippe could boast, and it formed a very trifling atonement in the eyes of those who held the glory of France consistent only with the massacres and horrors of war. Their theme of reprobation, too, was popular; for they spoke to all the most cherished instincts of the French nation. The merest insinuation of degradation instantly arouses that sensitive people, and well did these unscrupulous enemies of order avail themselves of the chivalrous weakness. They pretended that it was fear which caused the government to truckle to foreign despots; and then they asked, with indignant fervour, what France had to fear against all the tyrants in the world? Could she not raise 800,000 men at a signal? Was there a Frenchman who would not fly to arms rather than suffer the honour of his country to be tarnished? It was only the base and the ignoble who could ever fear that France would be overborne in fields of glorious warfare; it was only the selfish and the craven who hesitated to replace France in her former high position, and to resume those boundaries which were hers by the laws of nature and of conquest.

By such incitements the people of France, who were profoundly ignorant of the nature of the questions at issue, but had a vague idea that whenever a population proved rebellious against its rulers, France was bound to assist it, were taught to regard their government as actuated by a malignant hostility to the interests and credit of the country. And when such incitements grew stale, or began to fail in their effect, there was always one topic which might be touched with advantage, which never lost force by repetitions, and upon which the passions might be ever worked to redundant fury. This was the alliance with England, which, instead of being represented as an honourable and beneficial

union between two great countries which had every cause for mutual respect, was painted as a compact of humiliation only on the part of France, who purchased the patronage of England by the vilest submission to her commands. Imaginary scenes were invented, in which the British ambassador was made to play the part of an overbearing bully towards the trembling minister of foreign affairs, who sought by abject apologies to propitiate his wrath, and by promises of obedience to satisfy his demands. Such frauds were even carried to the pitch of fabricating speeches, as delivered in the British parliament by ministers and other public men, in which France was spoken of in insulting and depreciatory language.* And whilst the Republicans were thus intent, at any cost of truth and principle, to inflame the people against the policy of their government, and particularly as regarded the degrading alliance with England, it is a singular proof of the blind rage of parties, that the administration of Lord Grey was assailed with counterpart reproaches by the Tories, who in like manner declaimed against the French alliance as a bond of ignominy and degradation to Great Britain. The latter used the disgraceful topic as a mere instrument of party warfare; the Republicans had at least a more cosmopolitan object in view, since they contemplated a conflagration, in which the red banner of blood should float amidst the flames of a universal wreck.

Seeing the implacable and indefatigable enemies with whom he had to contend, it behoved Louis-Philippe to surround his throne with an administration composed of men who could impart to it all the strength derivable from a high reputation and indisputable talents. There were two such, who, of all others that had recently appeared on the public stage, united in their persons those qualifications which in representative governments command predominance; and these were Guizot and Thiers. Never were two men more dissimilar, or better fitted by nature and genius to be the rival leaders of opposing parties in a popular legislature. Guizot was considerably the older of the two, and had been connected with ministerial offices since the first Restoration, at which time he followed Louis XVIII. to Ghent—an indelible crime in the code of Revolutionists. He belonged to the rigid and philosophical sect of the Doctrinaires, of which Royer-Collard had been so long the acknowledged head, and partook in a remarkable degree all its stern and inflexible principles. The Doctrinaires might be likened to what has been called in England the ‘pure Whigs,’ proud and aristocratical in their sentiments and demeanour, but withal boasting a predilection for the advance-

* It may be conceived how far this infamous fabrication of speeches was carried by the Republican press of France, when a historian of this kidney, Louis-Blanc, in his elaborate work, puts the most preposterous words into the mouth of the Duke of Wellington regarding the French operations at Lisbon.—*Hist. de Dix Ans*, vol. I. p. 323. Brussels ed.

ment of popular liberties. Cold and repulsive, Guizot was not calculated to awaken kindly sympathies even among his admirers, and he was pursued with a hatred amounting to frenzy on the part of his enemies. Long engaged in the profound study of the abstract mysteries of history, his mind was intently contemplative; but it was a quality that impeded him in practical aptness, and obscured his vision of contemporaneous phenomena. In the tribune of the Chamber he discoursed with an admirable eloquence and a keen logic; nor could any parliamentary orator surpass him in perspicuity of language and the skilful arrangement of his argument. In his individual circumstances Guizot was poor, and in his religious faith a Protestant, a dissenter from the established religion, neither of which peculiarities damaged him in his political career, as they would assuredly have done in the more jealous and intolerant senate of Britain. In his writings he had manifested that integrity of judgment and high appreciation of moral virtue which bespoke in him a minister who would never, through unworthy motives, swerve from the path of rectitude, or stoop to be the instrument of an unprincipled ambition.

Very contrary in character was the lively, the versatile, the brilliant Thiers. As yet only in his thirty-fifth year, he had risen from the most obscure position, by force of an indomitable energy and a superior capacity, to fill an exalted station in the eyes of his countrymen, whom he had first captivated by the graceful style and harmonious sentiments of his revolutionary History. He had been invited by Baron Louis to accept under him a secretaryship in the finance department, and had continued to occupy the same post under Laffitte, during whose ministry he was returned to the Chamber as deputy for the town of Aix. His first parliamentary essays were rather unsuccessful, and by no means betokened the accomplished debater he was destined to prove himself. Gradually, however, by the fire of his imagination, and by the accents of an engaging eloquence, he won upon his auditory, and soon gained an influence which drew around him supporters whose affluence gave him the importance of a party chieftain. Quick and ready in repartee, rapid and decisive in thought, animated, frank, and cordial in deportment, he was fitted to attract admiration if not affection, and he possessed the invaluable art of conciliating even when he thwarted adversaries. His principles had been those of ultra-Liberalism when he directed the fiery engine of the 'National,' but latterly he had ceased to have an avowed connection with that journal, which, under the auspices of Armand Carrel, had lapsed to Republicanism. From the first, he had been an ardent supporter of Louis-Philippe as a candidate for the throne, seeing probably in such a prompt partisanship an avenue to his own ambition. In his political complexion he belonged to the centre-left; but he had already earned a repu-

tation for flexibility of opinions, which was derived from an apparent instability of character, and which was not belied by his future career. He was precisely one of those men in whom no positive confidence is reposed, because they are believed liable to be swayed by motives of expediency, and to be easily tempted to forsake principles when weighed in the balance against individual advantages. Thus whilst he was esteemed eminently clever, Thiers failed to inspire the same reliance on a steadfast and upright conduct which was accorded to his more haughty and unbending rival.

Such were the two men whom Louis-Philippe now endeavoured to enlist in the same cabinet, and to combine in a strong administration to repress the insatiable enemies of order. Through the mediation of the Duke de Broglie he succeeded in this difficult undertaking; and after much negotiation, a new ministry was eventually formed before the opening of the Chambers. Marshal Soult was nominated president of the council, retaining his post of minister at war; Broglie was appointed minister of foreign affairs; Guizot minister of public instruction; Thiers minister of the interior; and M. Humann minister of finance; Barthe remaining, as before, minister of justice. Such was the composition of the famous cabinet of the 11th of October 1832, which was fated to encounter a more stormy existence than had yet befallen almost any ministry in the troublous annals of revolutionary France.

It was not only by the Republicans that the throne of Louis-Philippe was threatened with subversion; the Royalists or Legitimists were likewise engaged in a permanent conspiracy against it. Under the first blow of the Revolution these latter had been completely crushed; and for some time afterwards had scarcely given any sign of vitality. But by degrees they recovered courage, and serious deliberations were held among them as to the means of bringing about a restoration, in which the chiefs of the party differed materially in opinion. Chateaubriand and others repudiated the adoption of violent measures, relying upon a natural reaction in favour of the elder branch after a sufficient experience of the evils of the change; others argued in behalf of a foreign intervention, and others in favour of a civil war, to be kindled in the southern and western provinces. With regard to a foreign intervention, Charles X. had actually deputed agents to plead the cause of Henry V. before the Conference of London; but, as might have been expected, without much success. Then the plot of the Rue des Prouvaires had been tried, which had likewise proved a failure; and nothing remained but the desperate resource of a civil war. Nevertheless, very few even among the most ardent Royalists prognosticated much success from an insurrection, which they feared truly would be partial and desultory; and but for the extraordinary determination and boldness of a

woman, no attempt of the sort would ever have been made. The Duchess de Berry secretly embarked at Massa in Italy on board a small steam-vessel on the 24th of April, accompanied by Bourmont and several others, and on the night of the 28th landed on the coast of France in an open boat amid a fearful storm of wind and waves. As it was impossible to re-embark without being captured, since the alarm had been given, she took the bold resolution of crossing the country to La Vendée; and despite all the awakened vigilance of the government, she actually accomplished the extraordinary journey, accompanied by MM. Mesnard, Villeneuve, and Lorges. On her arrival in that land of Royalist devotion, she had interviews with several of the chiefs whose fathers had fought in the great insurrection; but she found little inclination among them to encounter the hazards of another rising. Some partial skirmishes took place between the peasants and the soldiers; but all idea of provoking a civil war was soon extinguished. At the same time the presence of the Duchess de Berry in La Vendée caused the greatest alarm to the government of the Tuileries, and orders were despatched to track her with the utmost diligence. The indomitable princess still held out, and was often obliged to conceal herself in ditches and in woods, to evade the search of the soldiery in pursuit. At length she took refuge in Nantes, where she was betrayed by a renegade Jew named Deutz, after a concealment of five months, and taken captive on the 6th of November. She was immediately removed to the Castle of Blaye, in which she was rigorously confined, and in which she subsequently was delivered of a child, to the horror and consternation of the Royalists. This child was born on the 9th of May, and the princess alleged it to be the offspring of Count Lucchesi-Palli, a nobleman of Palermo attached to the Neapolitan court, to whom she was legally married; but the circumstances and the time that had elapsed were suspicious; and with this imputed stain on the honour of the Duchess de Berry, the cause of Henry V. received a blow from which it failed to recover until years had thrown oblivion around the ignominious scandal.

Whilst the pretensions of his legitimate competitor received so severe a shock, Louis-Philippe had likewise the good fortune to get rid of even a more dangerous rival in the hopes and affections of the French people. The son of Napoleon had been reared, unconscious of his high descent, at the court of his grandfather, the Emperor of Austria; and as he grew to manhood, had exhibited the same pensive and reflective cast of mind which distinguished the mighty conqueror in his adolescent days at Brienne. When he was apprised from what a father he had sprung, he applied diligently to study the history of a career in which he was so deeply interested; and as he pondered probably on the lofty destinies which had gleamed around his cradle, he fell into a

more settled melancholy, which his grandfather sought to dispel by providing him with the distractions of pleasure. But he fell an early victim to a delicate constitution; and in the autumn of 1832 died, carrying with him to the grave the lustre of a name unequalled in earthly fame, and belying the prognostications which had foretold a plenteous seed and a long posterity to the imperial stem. But if his death removed a cause of unceasing solicitude from the mind of the King of the French, the furious diatribes with which he was assailed by the Republican press, occasioned in him an apprehension it was impossible for him to repress. From the diabolical violence of these attacks, it was almost certain that one or more imaginations would be fired; and that, impelled by the fanaticism of a spurious ardour, an assassin would be found to free his country from what he deemed a fore-sworn oppressor. Accordingly, on the 19th of November, as the king passed over the Pont Royal; on his way to open the session of the legislature, a pistol-shot was fired at him; but in the confusion that ensued, the miscreant who discharged it made his escape. Several individuals were arrested; and a girl, Mademoiselle Boury by name, identified one Bergeron as the assassin in question, he having been already denounced to the police as engaged with two others in a plot to take away the life of the king. Notwithstanding the evidence against him seemed sufficiently strong to warrant his conviction, the jury acquitted him when put upon his trial; and the acquittal was celebrated by the Republicans with all the enthusiasm of a righteous victory gained over the depositaries of authority.

Assuredly the throne of France was far from being a bed of roses to its unhappy occupant; and Louis-Philippe must have deplored the unfortunate occurrence that had called him to sit upon it. Nevertheless he was not disheartened, and bore up manfully against the accumulated assaults and outrages of the most restless and unscrupulous faction that ever disgraced an era of civilisation. No incident of his reign was permitted to redound to his satisfaction or his credit. Even a second invasion of Belgium by the French army under Marshal Gerard in November 1832, and the subsequent capture of the citadel of Antwerp, after an obstinate defence by old General Chassé, was represented as a humiliating step on the part of France, and undertaken in obedience to the orders of the Conference, which had prescribed an immediate evacuation of the Belgian territory after the allotted task was performed. When this evacuation, therefore, took place, according to the pledge given by the French government to the other powers, reiterated cries were raised as to the flagrant disgrace to which the French arms had been subjected, and piteous lamentations were lavished upon the degradation of France in being sunk to be a mere tool of British diplomacy. Even in the cabinet of

his ministers, the king encountered continual vexations from their quarrels and their susceptibilities. Not three months had elapsed from the formation of the last ministry, before a dispute occurred between Thiers and D'Argout as to the attributions of their respective ministries; and to compose the difference, they changed places, the former taking the ministry of commerce and public works, the latter the ministry of the interior. In the ensuing session, the Chamber of Deputies rejected, by a majority of eight, a vote of credit for 25,000,000 francs to fulfil the stipulations of a treaty concluded between France and the United States of America, in liquidation of indemnities to that amount claimed by America for illegal seizures under Napoleon's edicts of Berlin and Milan; whereupon the Duke de Broglie, who had negotiated the treaty, insisted upon regarding this adverse vote as a censure upon himself, and refused to withdraw the resignation he perversely tendered. This unexpected retirement occasioned a complete remodelling of the cabinet; for as the horizon was beginning to be more than ever charged with lowering portents, it was justly deemed essential to man the vessel of the State with efficient guardians to defend it from the raging corsairs swarming to attack it. Consequently M. Thiers, whose resolute and unflinching character was well adapted for crises of civil strife, was again appointed to the ministry of the interior; Admiral de Rigny succeeded Broglie in the ministry of foreign affairs, giving place in the ministry of marine to Admiral Jacob; and Barthe was superseded by M. Persil. In recompense of his previous services, the Count d'Argout was nominated governor of the Bank of France, one of the most important and lucrative appointments in the gift of the crown; and M. Barthe was also nobly rewarded, by being elevated to the presidency of the *Cour des Comptes*.

Ever since the Revolution of July, France had been overrun with political clubs and societies, which kept up a constant ferment and agitation, and formed never-failing nuclei for the contagion of subversive principles. None of these societies was founded for any beneficial purpose, or for any practical ameliorations; but solely with a view to organise forces against the government, and to foster discontent among the ignorant classes of the community. The chief of these clubs in Paris was that of the Friends of the People, which Guizot attempted to suppress within three months after the 'glorious days;' but it ultimately gave place to one of far greater importance, called the *Society of the Rights of Man*, which first combined ultra-democratical principles with ideas of Communism both as to property and as to the division of labour; the whole being professedly founded on Robespierre's declaration of the rights of man presented to the Convention. This formidable society had branches in every part of France; and as it pretended to be the especial guardian

of the rights of the working-classes, vast numbers of artisans and mechanics in the large towns were enrolled as members. Many thousands belonged to it in Paris itself; and a central committee regulated its action and its affairs, which was composed of some of the leading Republicans in the capital—such as Voyer d'Argenson, Godefroi Cavaignac, Audry de Puyraveau, and others. In addition to this more extensive society, was an association for *the Defence of the Liberty of the Press*, which was also Republican in its aim, and included among its principal members Lafayette, Garnier-Pages, Armand Carrel, Armand Marrast, Cormenin, Arago, and others.

Knowing the secret objects of these societies, particularly that of the Rights of Man, which were directed primarily to provoking strikes and outbreaks among all classes of labourers, the government had commenced a prosecution against no less than twenty-seven members of the latter, as belonging to an illegal association founded for the propagation of anti-social principles; but such was the intimidation exercised over juries, that in this, as in all other prosecutions of a like nature, the defendants were acquitted. This continued impunity gave increased audacity to the Republicans, who were inflamed with a consciousness of their strength, and scarcely made a secret of their intention to levy open war against the monarchy of July. Under these menacing circumstances, the government deemed it imperative to interfere, and take measures of precaution for its own defence. It accordingly introduced into the Chambers a law for the regulation of associations, which was vehemently opposed not only by the Republicans, but also by the Legitimists, who were playing their old game of a *pessimist* policy. Nevertheless, it was passed by a considerable majority; and its main provisions were, that no association could be formed for any purpose composed of more than twenty persons, even though divided into sections of less than twenty persons, whether meeting periodically or otherwise, without the authority of the government; that all persons belonging to such associations, or letting to them places of meeting, should be liable to fine and imprisonment, and should be prosecuted for such penalties before the tribunals of correctional police. This law was eventually passed on the 10th of April 1834, and excited among the Republicans an indignation which no longer permitted them to observe any measure of prudence or forbearance in their aggressions on the peace and order of the community.

In 1831 a terrible revolt had occurred at Lyons, arising out of a strike among the silk-weavers for increased wages, in which, after many bloody conflicts, the workmen had remained complete masters of the city, but had ultimately been reduced to submission by Marshal Soult, who marched against the insurgents,

accompanied by the Prince-Royal, at the head of 40,000 men. The manufacturers were so far from being in a condition to bear an advance of wages, that they were for the most part scarcely able to keep their manufactories at work, so utterly prostrated was trade and credit amid the convulsions of the period. Consequently, in the end, the workmen obtained none of the demands they had risen to enforce, and indeed fell into a worse situation than before; but when trade began somewhat to revive, these discontented weavers were successfully plied with exciting stimulants by the emissaries of the Society of the Rights of Man, and they were formed into co-operative associations (*Sociétés des Mutuellistes*) for the purpose of resisting and overwhelming their employers. A Lyonnese Society of the Rights of Man was instituted, for the conduct of which some of the active Republicans were deputed from Paris; whilst Albert, a principal ringleader among the workmen, was sent to the capital to deliberate upon the plan of operations with the central committee. In this committee a scheme of insurrection upon a most extensive scale was discussed and partly arranged, by which, as soon as the outbreak commenced at Lyons, a simultaneous rising should be effected in the other towns of France; and when the military were either mastered or seduced, a general march on Paris to overthrow the government should take place. Such was the comprehensive plan of the central committee; and in order to mature it in all its multifarious ramifications, the period of action was agreed to be postponed. The *Mutuellistes* were therefore recommended to continue their work until the fitting moment arrived; but this advice was lost upon men who had been already aroused into an uncontrollable state of excitement, and who refused to adjourn the slaking of their vengeance. The intelligence of the law against associations introduced into the Chambers served to fire the smouldering conflagration, and on the 7th of April Lyons was in full insurrection. The government was well prepared for the catastrophe, and all the open spaces in the city were occupied by troops and defended by cannon. Having all their communications complete, the troops remained on the defensive; but nevertheless a desperate conflict ensued, and for six entire days Lyons was the theatre of a sanguinary and devastating battle, during which great part of the city was set on fire and consumed. The insurgents fought with a reckless desperation, and they were assisted by Italian and Spanish refugees, who returned the hospitality accorded them by an unexampled ferocity against the government which had sheltered and protected them. At length, on the 12th, the insurrection was driven back on the Faubourg de Vaise, and there it was finally suppressed. But on both sides the combatants had become infuriated with a passion which stifled all emotions of humanity, and fearful barbarities

were committed, worse than those related of savages in their hideous intoxications. The soldiers, maddened by their losses, and by the horrible cruelties inflicted on their comrades, burst into the houses of the Faubourg de Vaise, and executed upon many of the peaceable inhabitants a vengeance they could not sufficiently wreak against its guilty instigators.

Although the Republican leaders were not prepared for an immediate outbreak in Paris, they could not resist the impulse they themselves had imparted; and the intelligence from Lyons, working upon the already inflamed multitude, necessarily occasioned a premature insurrection. On Sunday the 13th, the population of the faubourgs arose, and barricades were erected in all the cross streets running from the Rue St Martin towards the Rue du Temple. Thiers, as minister of the interior, instantly adopted the most energetic measures to crush the movement in its outset; and repairing to the Hôtel de Ville, summoned around him Marshal Count Lobau, Generals Bugeaud, Rumigny, and others, with whom he agreed to march with a preponderating force on the insurgent Republicans. Proceeding in person at the side of General Bugeaud, he advanced into the very thick of the fire, and several officers fell killed and wounded around him. The exasperation of the troops and the National Guards against the rebels was altogether boundless, for during four years scarcely a day had passed but they had been engaged in collisions with this restless population of Paris. No mercy was shown on either side; but the Republicans were speedily worsted, and before nightfall they were chased from most of their barricades, falling back on their communications with the Faubourg St Antoine. On the following day, as the troops were defiling through a narrow street called the Rue Transnonain, an officer was killed by a shot from a window; whereupon the soldiers stormed the house, and listening to no cries of pity, put all the men they found in it to death. It was a cruel revenge doubtless; but the authors of these deplorable insurrections were really accountable for all the excesses with which they were attended; although the Republican writers scruple not to affect a pious horror of this slaughter, which, if perpetrated on the part of the people, they would have extenuated into a pardonable aberration of outraged patriotism.

Thiers was the hero of this great and decisive victory over the Republicans, and he omitted no exertion to render it complete and definitive. He seized the presses of 'La Tribune,' the most violent of the Republican papers, and even issued warrants of arrest against his old friend Armand Carrel and the editors of the 'National.' The Chamber of Peers was once more erected into a high court of justice, for the trial of the insurgents of April both in Paris and in Lyons; and for the better preservation of the future

peace of the country, an extraordinary credit of 14,000,000 was demanded from the Chamber for increasing the army, which was forthwith augmented to 360,000 infantry and 65,000 cavalry. Nevertheless, the success that had attended the operations of the government did not prevent another schism in the cabinet; and on the 18th July Soult was displaced in the presidency of the council by Marshal Gerard, who filled the nominal chieftainship until October, when fresh intestine divisions caused an abrupt dissolution of the whole cabinet. In this emergency the Duke de Bassano was applied to by the king, and that personage undertook to form an administration, which proved, however, so rickety in constitution, as to last for only three days. On the 18th of November the old cabinet of the 11th of October was reconstructed under the presidency of Marshal Mortier, Thiers and Guizot retaining their former places; but such was the jealous rivalry among these different statesmen, that Mortier was dismissed in the following February, the Duke de Broglie being nominated to the presidency in his stead; and for the almost unexampled interval of a year the administration continued in office without any serious modification.

King Ferdinand of Spain had died on the 29th of September 1833, leaving behind him, by his fourth wife Maria-Christina, a princess of Naples, and niece of the Queen of the French, two infant daughters. Since 1713, the Salic law had been established in Spain, by which females were excluded from the succession to the throne, although, by the ancient constitution of Castille, they were equally eligible with males. With the consent of the Cortes Charles IV. had promulgated, in 1789, a Pragmatic-Sanction, by which he revoked this Salic law of the Franks; and this Pragmatic-Sanction Ferdinand had disinterred in 1830 from the archives of the State, and by a formal edict revived. Subsequently, upon the birth of his eldest daughter Isabella, he renewed this edict; and having summoned the Cortes of the kingdom, obtained from them an oath of fealty to her as his lawful successor. Before dying, he nominated Queen Christina regent, and both the French and English governments acknowledged her in that capacity. Nevertheless Don Carlos, eldest brother of the deceased monarch, claimed the crown; and a civil war immediately broke out of the most devastating description. As Don Carlos had all the clergy on his side, Christina was obliged to throw herself into the arms of the Constitutionalists; and thus the contest became one of political principle rather than of legal right. Don Carlos was the representative of the Absolutist principle, Christina of the Constitutionalist. A contest of the same character had been for some time waging in the other part of the Peninsula, in Portugal, where the two brothers, Miguel and Pedro, fought with desperation under the same respective banners. In each of these contests the sym-

pathies of France and England were with the representatives of the constitutional cause, and in like manner the three northern courts secretly favoured the despotic types in the persons of Don Carlos and Don Miguel. However much inclined to assist Don Pedro in his exertions to secure the throne of Portugal for his daughter Donna Maria di Gloria, to whom he had delegated it before himself abdicating the imperial crown of the Brazils, England did not venture to do so in defiance of the hostility of the three continental courts; but when the constitutional cause prevailed, and both Oporto and Lisbon had fallen into the hands of Don Pedro, she grew more emboldened in her pretensions, and offered to co-operate with France and Queen Isabella of Spain in expelling both the absolutist pretenders from the Peninsula. This proposition led to the famous quadruple alliance, signed at London on the 22d of April 1834, between the queen-regent of Spain, Pedro, regent of Portugal, the king of Great Britain, and the king of the French, by which it was agreed that the queen of Spain should assist Don Pedro with a body of Spanish troops if necessary to the accomplishment of the aforesaid purpose, whilst Great Britain should lend a naval squadron, and France be prepared to afford aid if specially called upon. Circumstances speedily occurred to alter the aspect of affairs in the two portions of the Peninsula; and by an additional act between the same parties, dated the 18th of August 1834, Pedro agreed to return the good offices of Christina, by placing at her disposal an auxiliary force of Portuguese; England agreed to furnish Spain with all the arms and munitions of war she might require, and if need were, to assist her with a naval force; and France undertook to establish a cordon on her Pyrenean frontier, to prevent any succours from reaching the Spanish rebels. By this treaty the union between France and England became more than ever confirmed, and in its ultimate results was the means of establishing the throne of Isabella in Spain; a consummation which England had the mortification to find redounded neither to her profit nor to her influence.

Since their effectual discomfiture in April 1834, the Republicans had remained quiescent so far as physical outrages were concerned; for in truth their principal leaders had been all arrested, and were undergoing their trial before the Chamber of Peers in the 'monster process,' as it was called, which lasted during the greater part of the year 1835. Nevertheless the press revelled in all the abominations of a furious licentiousness, which no prosecutions, no fines, no imprisonments, could avail to curb. The French had grown so enamoured of political excitement, that to feed and gratify it, men were ever ready to offer themselves as sacrifices, inflated with the popular applause which elevated them into heroes and patriots. The anniversaries of the Three Days of

July had been celebrated since the Revolution by a national festival, in which the king was accustomed to take a prominent part. As this era in 1835 approached, sinister impressions weighed universally of some impending catastrophe; and the police received innumerable warnings as to the existence of plots for the assassination of the king, in some of which the very locality of the crime was specified—the Boulevard du Temple. Many of the houses on this boulevard were searched, but nothing of a serious indication was discovered, and Louis-Philippe had too much courage to swerve from any danger that thus darkly threatened him. On the 28th of July, accordingly, he mounted on horseback, and proceeded through the principal streets of Paris as usual, accompanied by his three sons, Orleans, Nemours, and Joinville; Marshals Mortier and Lobau; his ministers; and a numerous staff of officers. He was received with acclamations by the troops of the line, and by most of the National Guards; but by the people generally with a gloomy silence. As he passed along the Boulevard du Temple, suddenly a terrific detonation was heard, resembling the firing of a platoon; and immediately the earth was strewn with dead and wounded bodies. Marshal Mortier and General Lachasse fell from their horses bathed in blood; two colonels, a captain of artillery, four National Guards, an old man, a woman hawking tapes, and a young girl of fourteen, formed the residue of the victims. Louis-Philippe and his sons escaped unhurt, and after a short delay they continued their progress. The king displayed an admirable coolness in so frightful a conjuncture, and enthusiastic shouts greeted him wherever he appeared during the remainder of the day. The author of this diabolical explosion was discovered to be a wretch called Fieschi, and the ‘infernial machine’ he had used was planted with no less than twenty-five gunstocks, all loaded with a quadruple charge, and fired simultaneously by a train of gunpowder. He had accomplices in his villany, four of whom were tried with him before the Chamber of Peers; but only two of them, Pepin and Morey, were condemned to suffer the death justly awarded to himself. These three were executed on the 18th of February 1836; and the next day the mistress of Fieschi, Nina Lassave, who had acquired great notoriety during the trial, appeared in the bar of a café on the Place de la Bourse, to which all Paris flocked to behold the infamous celebrity of the hour.

It would be absurd to suppose that Fieschi or his attempt was directly connected with the plots of the Republicans; but it was impossible they could escape altogether the infamy which never fails to attach to an assassination. If Fieschi himself were simply a miscreant of the vilest character, Morey was an old man, long known among the Republican ranks, and who gloried in his crime as that of another Brutus. The government seized the occasion,

as might have been expected, to pass laws of repression against that liberty of the press which was so foully abused, and with which the order of society had become incompatible. Upon the report of M. de Broglie, who charged against the press the same offences as Chantelauze in his famous incrimination of the 25th of July 1830, three projects of law were presented to the Chambers: the first being relative to the forms of procedure before the courts of assize on prosecutions for sedition; the second reducing the majority of the jury required for a conviction from eight to four to seven to five; and the third imposing heavy fines and imprisonment on the authors of attacks against the person, the dynasty, or the government of the king, and of articles generally tending to interfere with the course of justice by the denunciation of jurymen, and by the fabrication of pretended conferences among them. Moreover, everything in the nature of caricatures was forbidden to be published or sold without a previous license from the police. The Opposition offered but a feeble protest against these measures, and they were passed by large majorities in both branches of the legislature. They are known in history under the name of the 'Laws of September;' and the Republican writers delight to stigmatise them as equally fatal to liberty with the ordinances of Charles X. themselves.

Hitherto Thiers and Guizot, notwithstanding the many dissimilitudes between them, had acted in a cordial union together; and in the numerous modifications of the original cabinet, followed uniformly the same aims. This concord was not agreeable to the king, since it paralysed his influence; and he was intent to govern as well as reign, according to a distinction first applied with effect towards Charles X. The presidency of the Duke de Broglie, moreover, gave him umbrage, as it imparted to the ministry more of the Doctrinaire 'colour' than he relished; and it was not difficult to suggest jealousies of a like nature in the mind of M. Thiers, whose successful administration of the internal department had tended not only to exalt him in parliamentary estimation, but also to awaken in him the highest aspirations of ambition. Thus an occasion was found in a sudden proposition of M. Humann, the minister of finance, for a reduction of the interest on the 5 per cent. *rentes*, to break up the administration; and at the special instance of the king, Thiers undertook to form a new one. This he effected without much difficulty, selecting Montalivet, Sauzet, Passy, Pelet, Marshal Maison, Admiral Duperré, and D'Argout, as his colleagues. By an ordinance dated the 22d of February 1836, he was himself nominated minister for foreign affairs, and president of the council. But he did not long maintain his office of prime-minister, as speedily a difference arose between him and Louis-Philippe touching the propriety of an intervention in Spain; and his advice not being

taken, he tendered his resignation. Guizot was then recalled to the royal counsels, together with Count Molé, who became president of the council and minister of foreign affairs on the 6th of September 1836. This ministry, however, failed to command a majority in the Chamber of Deputies, chiefly through the unpopularity of M. Guizot, who accordingly seceded on the 7th of March following; and Molé continued his government with Montalivet, Persil, and Duchâtel, until the beginning of 1839, when a coalition of all parties in the Chamber succeeded in overmastering him, and he gave way to a new administration under Soult as president of the council, with Passy, Duchâtel, and Villemain as his principal colleagues.

On the 25th of June 1836 another attempt was made to assassinate the king by a young man named Alibaud, who fired at him in his carriage as he was leaving the Tuileries for the Château of Neuilly. The assassin was apprehended, but no revelations of any importance could be elicited from him. He confessed and gloried in his crime, exclaiming before the Chamber of Peers, 'Regicide is the right of the man who can procure justice only by his own hands.' His sentiments and firmness obtained for him the sympathy and applause of the Republicans, who have consecrated his memory as one of their especial heroes. He was executed on the 11th of July; and as he mounted the scaffold, he cried out aloud, 'I die for the cause of liberty!' An attempt of a very different description was made against the government of Louis-Philippe on the 30th October of the same year. Prince Louis-Napoleon, eldest surviving son of Louis, ex-king of Holland, had resided for some time in Switzerland with his mother at the Château of Arenenberg; and, filled with lofty desires of succeeding to the place of his uncle in France, had opened communications with certain officers commanding the garrison of Strasburg. From these communications, and other delusive representations, he was induced to suppose that at his bare appearance a military revolt would immediately occur; and that by the magic of the great Napoleon's name, the greater part of the army would gather to his standard. Never was the expectation of a sanguine exile more wofully deceived: after a first blush of success with the fourth regiment of artillery, whose colonel, Vaudrey, he had gained, the unfortunate prince was arrested and conveyed a prisoner to Paris. It has been alleged that Louis-Philippe exacted from him a pledge, as the price of his freedom, that he would remain ten years in America; but this has been denied on the part of the prince, whose friends allege that he came under no promise whatsoever. Be this as it may, he was conveyed to America on board of a ship of war, and there disembarked: so closing, in a somewhat inglorious manner, an enterprise that, being better planned, and more maturely prepared,

might even then have succeeded, or at least have given a considerable shake to the sceptre of the King of the Barricades. On the 6th of November of this same eventful year Charles X. died at Goritz in Styria, in his eightieth year, thus disembarassing Louis-Philippe of an aged rival, whose name might have yet proved a watchword pregnant with sinister omens to the stability of his dynasty.

Among the many subjects of disquietude which perpetually assailed him, the king found in 1837 a temporary and pleasing relief. It was an object deeply cherished by him to unite his family with one of the great monarchies of Europe, and the Dukes of Orleans and Nemours had in the preceding year visited Berlin and Vienna on a politico-matrimonial expedition. They had been received by the Prussian and Austrian courts with a cordial and sumptuous hospitality; and particularly towards the Duke of Orleans, who possessed an engaging sprightliness and amiability, the most marked attentions were paid. Nevertheless, when he sought the hand of an Austrian archduchess, it was refused to him; both on account of a political repugnance to the alliance, and because of the signal misfortunes that had invariably attended nuptial unions between France and Austria. Rejected in this august quarter, the King of the French turned his eyes upon the secondary monarchies of the continent, and solicited for his eldest son the hand of the Princess Helena, daughter of the Grand Duke of Mecklenburg-Schwerin, who was closely allied with the royal family of Prussia. In this application he was opposed by all the influence of the Emperor Nicholas, who had formed a strong antipathy against Louis-Philippe; but in the end, chiefly through the good offices of the king of Prussia, it was granted, and the marriage was solemnised with great pomp at Paris on the 30th of May, amid banquets, rejoicings, and illuminations. The Chamber of Deputies responded with liberality to the demand made for a suitable dotation, and granted to the Prince-Royal an income of 2,000,000 francs, with a dowry of 300,000 to his wife if she survived him. The favourable occasion also was embraced to procure a grant of 1,000,000 francs as a marriage-portion to the queen of the Belgians, which apprehensions of a rejection had hitherto prevented from being formally propounded. At the same time, as if to sustain the superstition of evil portents, several people, men, women, and children, were crushed to death during a military spectacle on the Champ de Mars, recalling vividly to remembrance the frightful accidents which had signalised the marriages of Louis XVI. and of the Emperor Napoleon. However, the calamity was soon forgotten, and the traditional augury buried in oblivion, when, on the 24th of August of the following year, a son was born to the Duchess of Orleans, an heir to the dynasty, another Heaven-sent pledge of

the prosperity and happiness of France! With the infinite tact that distinguished him above all men, Louis-Philippe created this infant scion of his race the Count of Paris.

Still the proofs of an inextinguishable enmity pursued the king at almost every moment of his existence. In 1837 his life was again fruitlessly attempted as he was proceeding to open the session of the legislature; and in December of that year a plot for his assassination, or for the overthrow of his government, was discovered; and the Chamber of Peers, which sat in almost permanent session as a court of justice, sentenced Hubert, the principal conspirator, to transportation for life, and his chief accomplices to various terms of imprisonment. But in 1839, on the 12th of May, a regular insurrection broke out, fomented by the heads of a secret society called the *Société des Familles*, which was prepared with complete secrecy, and might have been successful in a period of greater excitement among the general population. But beyond shooting a few innocent soldiers at some of the military posts, the insurgents, who scarcely amounted to 1500 in number, were unable to accomplish anything of moment, and they were speedily subdued. The three ringleaders of this desperate onslaught were ruffians of the worst Republican stamp—men of blood, rapine, and violence, whose names were Barbes, Blanqui, and Bernard. The first was proved to have killed in cold blood an officer on duty before the Palace of Justice, and he was sentenced by the peers to be guillotined, a judgment which was afterwards commuted by the king to transportation, in deference to sundry memorials praying for a remission on account of his offence being of a political nature, which it assuredly was not, unless every scoundrel may shoot, or incite others to shoot, soldiers with impunity, under pretence of having a political object in view. The more criminal of his accomplices were sentenced to the galleys, and to various terms of imprisonment. This was about the last open outbreak of the Republicans during the remainder of the reign of King Louis-Philippe.

On the 1st of March 1840, the feeble ministry of Soult and Passy succumbed, and Thiers was once more constituted president of the council. When he assumed office, the Eastern question had become the great difficulty of the moment, arising out of the successful invasion of Syria and Asia Minor by Ibrahim Pasha, the son of Mehemet Ali. France, from her traditionary policy with regard to Egypt, favoured the cause of Mehemet Ali against his suzerain, the sultan of Turkey; whereas England and the three northern courts were desirous of upholding the Ottoman empire in opposition to its rebellious vassal. Active negotiations had been prosecuted for some time at London on this all-important subject, which, from the position taken up by France, had gradually proceeded almost to her complete isolation; but on his acces-

sion to power, Thiers attempted to revive the amicable understanding with England; and as a proof of his success in that endeavour, might instance the readiness with which Lord Palmerston responded to his application for leave to remove the body of Napoleon from St Helena to France. This request was promptly and cordially granted, and the remains of the great Emperor were accordingly transferred to the city of Paris, where he had desired they should be deposited, and laid under that magnificent dome of the Hôtel des Invalides in which he had himself so often celebrated the obsequies of the illustrious dead. Nevertheless, the policy of the two governments was too diametrically opposed for this close amity to continue; and on the 15th of July 1840 a treaty was signed at London by the four great powers of England, Russia, Prussia, and Austria, which led to the capture of St Jean d'Acre and other Syrian fortresses by a British squadron, and the ultimate abandonment of all his conquests by Ibrahim Pasha. This abrupt exclusion of France from the diplomacy of Europe, and the complete overthrow of her designs, occasioned in that country a fermentation which had rarely been exceeded; and so universal and impassioned a cry arose for war, that it overbore the reluctance of Thiers, who, after having by his hesitation allowed the favourable moment for action to pass over, during which he might with ease have exterminated the ill-conditioned fleet of Great Britain in the Mediterranean, yielded to the clamour, and gave his voice for immediate hostilities. But the irresistible tendency of Louis-Philippe towards peace once more preserved France and Europe from the horrors of a desolating warfare; and dismissing the bellicose Thiers, he called to the ministry of foreign affairs the more sagacious, prudent, and impassible Guizot, who became the veritable chief of a new administration under the nominal presidency of old Marshal Soult, Duke of Dalmatia. The cabinet was formed on the 29th of October 1840, and included Duchâtel in the department of the interior, Humann in that of the finances, Admiral Duperré in that of the marine, Martin (du Nord) in that of justice and religion, Cunin-Gridaine in that of commerce, Teste in that of public works, and Villemain in that of public instruction.

Such was the ministry with which Louis-Philippe prepared to face the Chambers of 1841, and to contend against that overwhelming mania for war which so easily seizes upon the excitable people of France—a ministry which derives increased interest from its being the last that was formed under the auspices of the Revolution of July.

CHAPTER XXIV.

CHANGE IN THE SYSTEM OF GOVERNMENT OF LOUIS-PHILIPPE—THE SELFISH AND CORRUPT POLICY PURSUED BY HIM AND GUIZOT—THE MARRIAGE OF THE INFANTA OF SPAIN, AND RUPTURE WITH ENGLAND—DEMAND FOR ELECTORAL REFORM—INTENDED BANQUET IN PARIS—REVOLUTION OF THE THREE DAYS OF FEBRUARY, AND DOWNFALL OF LOUIS-PHILIPPE—DECLARATION OF A REPUBLIC—CIVIL-CONFLICTS IN APRIL, MAY, AND JUNE—ELECTION OF LOUIS-NAPOLEON BONAPARTE AS PRESIDENT—*coup d'état* OF 2D DECEMBER 1851—LOUIS-NAPOLEON DECLARED EMPEROR 2D DECEMBER 1852, UNDER THE TITLE OF NAPOLEON III.—1841 TO DECEMBER 1852.

During the first ten years of his reign, Louis-Philippe occupied a position of the greatest difficulty and danger, and he maintained his government and the peace of Europe against the evil elements perpetually threatening both with a courage, energy, and wisdom which will insure him a name among the most distinguished monarchs who have ruled for their good intractable and turbulent populations. He had to contend against the arts, the machinations, and the assaults of such enemies as had not been previously known among civilised communities, men who were without scruples, without conscience, and without remorse, incessantly plotting against the peace and welfare of society under pretence of a desire to promote the cause of liberty, whilst they were in reality the greatest enemies and destroyers of liberty. Previous to the pestilent existence of these men, the name of Republican was held in honour and esteem among all who had faith in the progressive destinies of mankind, and whose memories glowed with the generous recollections of the virtues embalmed in the historic pages of Greece and Rome. But a French Republican has not a single feature in common with the noble types of antiquity: he is, on the contrary, either a snarling and sick-livered sentimentalist, or a ferocious bloodhound, not the creature of high impulses and philosophic thought, the offspring of a manly nature or a rational comprehension. Consequently, there is nothing so truly contemptible and revolting as a modern French Republican; and it must ever be so, so long as the meaning attached to the word republic is that of national self-government in its widest sense, because the French, of all the people on the earth, lack the stern attributes, the moral qualities, the sober steadfastness, which endow populations with that greatest and rarest of faculties. Before the French can aspire to be Republicans they must first be educated—taught that fighting in street broils and raising barricades is not the first of civic duties; impressed with a belief in something more elevating than mere violence

and bloodshed, imbued with ideas less grovelling and debasing than those of a swinish Communism. Until some such great amelioration be effected, and especially among the savage hordes of the Parisian faubourgs, a Republic can never exist in France except in the bare name, under the cover of which a far greater practical tyranny will be exercised than under almost any phase of its monarchical government.

It was this deplorable necessity under which Louis-Philippe laboured from the first, that of battling continually for an existence, which rendered it imperative on him to adopt those stringent and repressive measures which supplied to his indefatigable adversaries renewed grounds of reproach and vituperation. There is no reason to suppose that he would have attempted to govern otherwise than as a strictly constitutional monarch, if he had been allowed in quietude and confidence to consolidate the institutions under which he was called to the throne; at all events he is entitled to the benefits of a doubt which the atrocious conspiracies of the Republicans have sufficiently created for his justification. It was therefore purely childish, and mere emptiness of sound, when he was accused of transgressing the legitimate bounds of his station, and of personally interfering in the government of the State, instead of leaving it entirely in the hands of his responsible ministers. Much depended for the salvation of his crown upon his individual character and firmness, nor would any ministers perhaps have consented to incur such dangers and odium unless they had been powerfully supported by himself in the policy they were compelled to pursue. During these ten years the constitutional system had not a fair trial in France, since it was, as it were, in a constant state of siege, and forced in self-defence to make abrupt sallies upon its fierce beleaguers; besides, it is not the strict doctrine that the monarch shall have no opinion or policy of his own; he requires simply that a body of ministers shall consent to accept and indorse it. Hence it was of no moment whatever whether a particular measure emanated from the personal will of the king, so that his ministers propounded it upon their acknowledged responsibility; and consequently the clamour that was raised about his ruling as well as reigning was sheer nonsense, and known to be so by those most loud in repeating it. The remedy for any violation of the constitution, if it existed, was as open as for any other grievance in the social condition, and the paramount functions of a parliament were gone if it could not vindicate the force of organic maxims.

But from this habit of direct interposition in the affairs of government there ultimately sprung an evil to which the ruin of Louis-Philippe is mainly ascribable. The repeated changes of ministries that took place between 1830 and 1840 were in a material degree a consequence of it, and these changes could

not be otherwise than detrimental to the prestige of the monarchy, from the symptoms of weakness and dissension they betrayed among its chief supporters, and from the grounds of sarcasm they afforded to malevolent critics. But a much more dangerous consequence resulted in the confirmed passion which took root in the mind of the king to domineer over his cabinet, and which led him to intrigue even against combinations most advantageous to his government, but destructive of his personal influence. Thus the long union between Guizot and Thiers was obnoxious to him, because it tended to neutralise him, and reduce him to the cypher it was the spirit of the constitution he should ostensibly be; and he sought by various artifices to divide them, in which he ultimately succeeded to his heart's desire. He was much more favourably inclined towards Thiers than towards Guizot, both from the larger share the former had borne in founding the monarchy of July, and from his greater facility of character and fecundity of expedients; hence he preferred him to form an administration in 1836 after the final disruption of the ministry of the 11th of October. But Thiers refused to yield him an implicit obedience; and in accordance with those military predilections which are so conspicuous in his writings, he advised an armed intervention in Spain in behalf of Queen Isabella, from which the timid and apprehensive monarch recoiled with perturbation. He accordingly resigned, and Louis-Philippe turned with the utmost composure to his rival Guizot, whom he found willing to resume office on condition of deprecating the intervention Thiers had recommended. Molé consented to join his former colleague in this new ministry, which the shock of Louis-Napoleon's enterprise at Strasburg first staggered, and, by the rejection of a law which it occasioned to be introduced, finally upset, so far as Guizot was concerned. Molé and Montalivet continued to carry on the government, until an unprincipled coalition of every fraction of the Chamber, including Legitimists, Doctrinaires, the left, and the extreme-left, against the compact centre of Moderates, succeeded in defeating them, and they were obliged to retire. This parliamentary rebuff caused the king much perplexity, since it threw him, as it were, perforce on the three leaders of the coalition—Guizot, Thiers, and Odillon-Barrot, obliging him to submit to their dictation. But coalitions are very apt to be dissolved by the mere fact of victory itself; and under the skilful management of Louis-Philippe it readily so came to pass in the present instance. After dallying with Thiers for a time, he patched up a cabinet with Soult and Passy as its chief components, which sank before the indignation of the Chamber at a proposition submitted to it for conferring on the Duke de Nemours an annuity of 500,000 francs, and a grant of the like sum for the expenses of his marriage with the Princess Victoria of Saxe-Coburg. The king then again recurred to

Thiers, who responded gaily to his invocation, but whose martial propensities once more caused him to be dismissed after a reign of less than eight months. Then finally came Guizot, whom Louis-Philippe found duly chastened by his long exclusion from power, and whom he easily moulded into the pliant instrument he now desired to have under the name of a minister.

In these various ministerial combinations, the facility with which the king found men at all times ready to accept the responsible position of his advisers, in return for the emoluments and patronage the possession of office insured to them, could not fail to have an unhappy influence on his mind, and lead him irresistibly to infer, that among the statesmen and parliamentary leaders of his time public principle was of much less weight than motives of private interest and ambition. This was a perilous temptation to a monarch such as Louis-Philippe, in whom many of the baser passions lurked waiting for development. The exercise of power, it is very trite to remark, is one of the severest ordeals to which human virtue can be exposed; and there are very few names in history identified with a successful resistance to its intoxications. Alexander, the benignant Cæsar himself, Napoleon—all have been unequal to withstand the elevation of high fortune; and its corrupting blight fell on a soil too impregnated with vicious seeds not to wither the blooming fruits, when its test was applied to the frail and perishable soul of Louis-Philippe. He has been too much the object, doubtless, of villanous slander on the part of Royalists and Republicans, not to induce an almost partial consideration of his conduct and his failings; and it may be said with truth, that during the early years of his reign he fulfilled all the just expectations France could have formed of him when, by the unanimous voice of her citizens, she placed him on her revolutionary throne. It was impossible he could have adopted any other system of government than that he pursued with a view to consolidate the peace and prosperity of France; and of this the great bulk of the people were so convinced, that they gave to him an undeviating support, only the more steady and determined from the diabolical efforts of the Republicans to restore the Reign of Terror and of anarchy. In the same manner that the welfare, if not the existence, of France had been identified with Napoleon in the days of the Consulate, so was it with Louis-Philippe during the tempest of conspiracies and assassinations directed against him by the insignificant and malignant faction which sat in a permanent pandemonium to conjure his ruin. By the middle-classes especially he was regarded as the only safeguard against a Jacobinical tyranny, and they clustered around his throne with all the strong instincts of self-preservation and dread of confiscation. But in estimating this grateful support of the middle-classes, who must of necessity form the nucleus of strength in every civilised community, Louis-Philippe overrated

the extent of their interested attachment; and deeming himself indispensable to them, he judged too fondly that he could never alienate them from a throne on which they knew to repose their own solitary hopes of security.

Hence it was that having now, as he thought, firmly consolidated his throne, and in their last discomfiture finally suppressed the more reckless and infuriated of the Republicans, he began to pursue not simply a conservative, but a retrograde policy, tainted, moreover, with a selfishness which was equally impolitic and odious. Doubtless, if ever a monarch was goaded to become a tyrant by the incessant plots formed against his life, it was Louis-Philippe: again, in this very year 1840, an assassin named Darnes fired at him as he was proceeding to Neuilly, who, so far from manifesting compunction for his crime, expressed regret that he had failed in 'delivering France from the greatest tyrant that ever oppressed her.' This was the sixth time his life had been attempted since his accession, and the sixth time that it had been miraculously preserved: a fearful proof how deplorably the French character had sunk in the moral scale; for in no other country of Europe, except Ireland perhaps, could such a crop of assassins have been generated within a century! But the most melancholy feature attending these outrages—which, by the common assent of mankind, are branded as the blackest and most heinous of all offences—was the savage exultation expressed at them by the writers of the Republican press, and the meretricious honours heaped upon the worthless miscreants who were the guilty actors. It was in the very midst of the universal cry for war that this last attempt on the life of Louis-Philippe took place, and in some degree it had the effect of aiding his efforts to resist and combat that cry. Although the conduct of England had been marked, if not with treachery, at least with an insulting precipitation towards France in the treaty of July, still the king deemed it essential to avoid a war, despite the gratuitous slight administered by Lord Palmerston to the national honour and susceptibility. In this persuasion he was fixed, not only from regard to the convulsions which would assuredly arise in France from the outbreak of a maritime war, whereby the country would be exposed to far greater sacrifices and dangers than could result from a continental war, but also from regard to the tottering condition of the Whig ministry in England, which had long outlived its credit, and to the personal relations of amity existing between him and the youthful monarch of Great Britain, Queen Victoria. It is seldom that the latter motive can be adduced as influencing the actions of sovereigns, or as operating materially on the policy of nations. But it may be permitted to infer that, in the present instance, Louis-Philippe was swayed by considerations of regard towards his affectionate correspondent, happening to agree, as they did, with more cogent reasons; and the more especially as,

by the marriage of the Duke de Nemours, the two royal families had become closely allied. Not that Louis-Philippe, or any other ambitious potentate, would have allowed a private friendship to stand in the way of the realisation of any darling scheme of aggrandisement; but at this period he prided himself on the strictly candid and honourable conduct of his government, and might reasonably give weight to his individual prepossessions. At all events, there is little doubt that the intimate relations between the two sovereigns had an assignable effect in preventing the calamity of a war; and when, within a year afterwards, Lord Palmerston gave place to the conciliating and peaceful Lord Aberdeen, the union between the two countries became more closely knit than ever. In the interim, Louis-Philippe had a most arduous task to perform in stilling the rage of the French people; and he sought to calm and amuse them by yielding to a clamour they raised from one end of the kingdom to the other for the fortification of Paris. If the capital had been properly fortified in 1814, it is unquestionable that Napoleon might have successfully defended his empire; for, in the first place, the Allies would never have ventured to advance on Paris, leaving him in their rear; and secondly, he might, even in the last extremity, have compelled them to grant him favourable terms of peace. This truth had been the subject of many bitter comments and regrets by French writers; and the subject was revived with infinite ardour during the present fever possessing the public mind. Louis-Philippe was well content to gratify the national wish in this respect, because it tended to strengthen his throne in two ways: *1st*, Against the possibility of a successful foreign aggression; and *2dly*, Against insurrections on the part of the Parisian populace. Consequently, the scheme of surrounding Paris with a continued rampart flanked by impregnable forts was introduced into the Chambers, and the measure embodying it carried by acclamation. The project was ultimately executed to the fullest extent; and at the cost of about 200,000,000 francs, Paris was put in a state to defy any hostile attack from without; and, as it was supposed, to overawe effectually the seditious population of the faubourgs and its evil-minded instigators.

On all around him the same baneful influences were at work that operated so powerfully on the mind of Louis-Philippe himself. His wife and his sister had both likewise fallen from that lofty principle for which they had been previously so remarkable, and readily abetted him in his continual schemes for the enrichment and aggrandisement of his family. The Duke of Orleans, who alone might have resisted these unhappy temptations, and maintained by his popularity the fortunes of the dynasty, had been unfortunately killed by a fall from his carriage. Thus relieved from all check, in the blindness of the cupidity and ambition Louis-Philippe had allowed to overpower him, he re-

garded France almost in the same light as Louis XIV. had done, and looked upon it as a possession to be used simply for his individual profit. In this he displayed an imbecility of judgment equally great with the infatuation of Charles X.; since, although the people of France held the Republicans in a natural horror, they were far from being prepared to consider themselves as extinguished in the effulgence of the reigning family. It was his grievous error to suppose that the country took a pride and delight in witnessing the high alliances he procured for his sons; and that, by multiplying his connections with foreign courts, he added to the firmness and security of his dynasty; whereas, in reality, it would have been much wiser in him to have pursued a directly opposite course, and sought by plebeian intermarriages the more completely to identify himself with the revolutionary France which had chosen him for its chief. But like Napoleon, he could not be content with the noble position of a national chief, and must needs mingle with the brood of impure royalties, with the view, as he fondly imagined, of building up the magnificence and permanence of his house. All the labour and pains he gave himself, therefore, to contract what he deemed suitable alliances for his sons as they reached a marriageable age, were altogether thrown away, and rather recoiled upon him with detrimental consequences. The Dukes of Orleans and Nemours had already married two German princesses; the Prince de Joinville obtained the hand of the sister of the emperor of Brazil; and the Duke d'Aumale was betrothed to a daughter of the decayed but illustrious House of Salerno, and a niece of the Emperor Ferdinand of Austria. The youngest son alone, the Duke de Montpensier, was not yet provided with a wife, although one was in sedulous contemplation for him in the person of the youthful Infanta, sister of Isabella, queen of Spain, whose marriage shortly became the subject of serious deliberations between the governments of France and Great Britain.

Among the many qualities eminently possessed by the King of the French, is to be ranked an irresistible amenity of address, and a power of fascination against which the most resolute usually struggled in vain. He possessed an art and faculty of persuasion which never failed to silence or overcome the scruples of all who were exposed to its magic spell; and he wrought by cunning blandishments a more effectual sway than many potentates by the force of the sternest virtues. This was very strikingly exemplified with regard to Guizot, who exercised the office, although he did not enjoy the title, of his prime-minister. This personage had, more than any other man in France, except perhaps Royer-Collard and Odillon-Barrot, obtained a reputation for an inflexible strictness of principles, joined to a consummate integrity, which invested him almost with a halo of conventual sanctity. No writer had ever evinced a more lofty or

philosophical tone of thought in his historical productions, or had judged the motives and actions of others with a more unflinching regard for pure veracity. Hence so incorruptible and irreproachable a character ostensibly has rarely presented itself in a depository of power; and this had certainly been sustained so far that, notwithstanding sundry earlier suspicious aberrations, Guizot was still considered in his own country, and especially in Europe, as a favourable exception to public men in general, and as actuated by feelings of honour which would keep him free from contamination with anything like base or unworthy practices. Yet so very poor and weak was this seeming structure of virtue, that it dissolved in a moment at the touch of the enchanter's wand, and the *sour Doctinaire* resolved into an ignoble courtier, and into a more ignoble tool of an overreaching and unscrupulous master. Never, in the history of the world, was given a more deplorable example of impotent frailty, nor was ever a universal reliance in the strength of a manly and matured intellect more flagrantly belied. As a minister, he proved himself destitute of every quality befitting him to rule such a country as France; pride, obstinacy, and overweening confidence, were the solitary attributes he manifested, and he rested for support exclusively on the good graces and protection of the king. As a man of honour and integrity, he sank into so degraded a condition, that he blushed not to excite a laugh in the Chamber of Deputies by a boastful allusion to an act of gross perfidy he had personally committed with reference to the crowning iniquity of the reign of King Louis-Philippe, hereafter to be noticed in its more damnifying features.

In treating of this portion of French history, the king and his minister are spoken of thus prominently because they in reality governed the country, and the national legislature was reduced to a mere cypher. The Chamber of Peers had never recovered any importance since the blows struck at it by the Charter of 1830, and the subsequent law annihilating hereditary right in all peerages whatsoever; and so cheap was the dignity held, that persons of eminence generally refused to accept it. The Chamber of Deputies was still the great council of the nation, so far as it had a council at all; but such was the vast weight of administrative influence exerted in controlling the elections of members, that a large majority was always secured on behalf of the government; and out of 459 representatives, considerably upwards of 200 were actual placemen, holding appointments at the pleasure of the crown. This anomalous composition of a national representative body was owing to the number of small constituencies returning deputies to the Chamber, which, without the necessity of recourse to direct pecuniary bribery, were easily directed in their choice by promises or expectations of sharing largely among them the innumerable offices at the disposal of the government. Thus Louis-Philippe obtained a Chamber perfectly according to

his wish; a pliant and acquiescent majority was ready to ratify every proposition submitted to it by his obsequious minister. With such unlimited power, a true statesman or patriot would have directed his energies to the improvement of the institutions of the country, to the amelioration of the condition of the labouring-classes, to the purging of the administration of the foul corruption which pervaded all its ramifications, and thus redeemed in some measure the impure character of the legislature which cringed to his despotic authority. But nothing of this sort was attempted; on the contrary, the entire policy of the government consisted in brute resistance to all reformation, in simple stagnation amid the impatient spirit for progress, in dogged antagonism to every project of innovation, however expedient and reasonable. By so mean and despicable a policy the king and his minister abdicated the functions of statesmen, and through the dereliction of their most sacred duties, speedily brought upon themselves a retribution which adds one more striking lesson for the edification of rulers, but which, it is probable, will have no more beneficial effect than the others that have preceded it.

A government of this description could scarcely expect to carry with it the sympathies of the mass of the population, notwithstanding that France enjoyed an unprecedented degree of material prosperity during the reign of Louis-Philippe; and assuredly at no period was Paris so profusely embellished by the erection of sumptuous private residences. But this very prosperity itself was made the source of opprobrium, and a stimulant for arousing disaffection. It was obtained at the cost of the national honour, prostituted at the feet of the queen of England and her ministers, and at the expense of the poor, out of whose blood and sweat the selfish bourgeoisie amassed its infamous wealth. The bourgeoisie itself had no feeling of gratitude towards the government; for, with its increase of substance, it only became the more inclined to censoriousness, and had no idea of attributing its prosperity to a government which seemed actuated by the sole aim of engrossing and perpetuating an irresponsible power. The press, although fettered by ever-impending pains and penalties, broke out into lavish reprehension of a system so replete with abominations; and as the only way to stifle it was judged to be by prosecutions, these were multiplied beyond all former precedent; and never in the worst era of the Restoration were the courts so occupied with the trial of libellists and calumniators, who doubtless, for their horrible falsehoods in most instances, deserved condign punishment. When a monarch thus emphatically separates himself from a nation, and essays to rule upon the precarious basis of legislative and administrative turpitude, it is natural he should turn for support to the armed force of which he has the supreme command. Accordingly Louis-Philippe applied himself by all arts and devices to conciliate the good-will

and affection of the army, which he kept continually augmenting until it exceeded 500,000 soldiers. He kept it supplied with the excitement of fighting in Algeria and Morocco, and sent into its ranks his brave young sons, who succeeded in distinguishing themselves by numerous acts of valour and heroism, and so winning the favour of their martial comrades. He was himself constantly guarded by numerous detachments of troops; and so firmly was his power supposed to be rooted, so trustworthy the loyalty of the soldiers, that the Republicans abandoned in despair all their schemes of a violent subversion, and contented themselves with the slow and silent effect of vituperation and mendacity. The same persuasion prevailed throughout France and all Europe; and by a sort of common consent, every hypothesis of a change was adjourned to the anticipated period of his death. So profound was the belief in his incomparable skill and sagacity, in his paramount influence over all the men of his era, that the existing system was deemed irreversible during his life; and as he was growing an old man, the state of his health affected the daily price of the public funds. If he was reported to have a headache, or to have been heard coughing, or to exhibit symptoms of languor, the funds would immediately fall 2 or 3 per cent., to rebound from the depression on sounder information that the reports were fabrications. At the same time, this extreme confidence in him was owing principally to the exaggerated notions of his sleepless cunning, which, more than any other quality, was ascribed to him with an unbounded liberality. Men said universally, 'Wait till the old fox dies, and then you will see'— In everybody's mouth was this opprobrious epithet of the 'old fox;' and when the head of a mighty empire, after a reign of nearly twenty years, has acquired no more worthy title in the estimation of a community than such a brand, it is surely fitting he should be stricken in his ignominious fame.

In addition to this reputation for excessive slyness, was a universal impression of his avariciousness and treachery: an avariciousness to the extent of being ready to sacrifice every consideration for the love of money; a treachery which led him to betray and abandon every man the moment he had served his purpose. The wealth he had amassed was reputed to be enormous, and he was represented to have funds distributed in every part of the world, either for more profitable investment, or to provide for the occurrence of unforeseen calamities. Nevertheless, in other countries his character was far from being held in such low esteem; on the contrary, he was regarded with a feeling of admiration and gratitude, as the unflinching preserver of the public peace, and as the controller of those horrible passions with which the Revolutionary factions were known to be animated. Especially in England he was viewed in the most favourable light; and the pleasing interchanges of visits between him

and Queen Victoria tended materially to strengthen the predilection in his behalf, and to awaken cordial sympathies towards him. But this was soon destined to have an end. Towards the close of 1846, a Whig ministry again came into power in England; and although it was well aware that Lord Palmerston's appointment as foreign secretary would occasion an immediate rupture of the friendly relations with France, it contemned so momentous a consequence, and preferred the fidelity of partisanship to the higher motives of a disinterested patriotism.* Never did more mighty results flow from so apparently trivial a cause. Lord Palmerston belonged to the Pitt and Canning school of diplomacy, in which it was set down as a maxim that not a gun was to be fired in Europe without the permission of Great Britain. Pitt himself had been far from desirous of carrying out this preposterous maxim, for in his days of early purity he was a sincere friend of peace; but it had grown to be part of his system, like many other egregious abominations, and he had bequeathed it to his successors. Canning acted upon it so far as to involve his country in costly interventions, which were indeed forced upon him by the peculiarities of his position, and by the clamours of the liberal party, which had rallied round him when discarded by the Tories. Palmerston carried his idea of intervention to an incalculable extent, and supposed that it behoved England to mingle herself up with the domestic concerns of every government, especially if disturbed by any intestine disputes, which was not strong enough to chastise so insolent a pretension. This extravagant propensity of his was well known to every diplomatist in Europe, and his reappointment to the foreign office diffused a general dissatisfaction through all the courts of the continent.

It occurred at a most inopportune moment for the repose of the world. The marriage of the queen of Spain had already been a subject of anxious deliberation between the two governments of France and England, and certain arrangements had been entered into between Guizot and Lord Aberdeen respecting it, one of which was, that the queen should be married and have issue before her sister the Infanta was given in wedlock. This was to adjourn the perplexing question of a French prince marrying the Infanta, upon which of course Louis-Philippe was solemnly intent, and also to obviate any difficulty which might arise from the renunciation of the French Bourbons to the throne of Spain made in the time of Louis XIV. Louis-Philippe and Guizot thought fit to consider themselves relieved from any obligation contracted with

* An attempt had been made in the previous year to form a Whig administration; but it failed precisely from the fact of Lord Grey (son of the famous nobleman of that name) and his friends refusing to sit in a cabinet with Palmerston as foreign secretary, solely from his known hostility to the government of France; yet in 1846 this same Lord Grey joined the new ministry with the identical encumbrance!

Aberdeen when the obnoxious Palmerston assumed his place, and they eagerly took advantage of a letter written by the latter, in which, with incredible stupidity, he seemed to revive the pretensions of a Saxe-Coburg prince for the hand of the queen, the same having been previously expressly repudiated by Lord Aberdeen. This was sufficient for the Argus-eyed King of the French. He immediately pretended that Palmerston was intriguing to foist a Saxe-Coburg upon the queen, and straightway commenced an intrigue on his own account, which for blackness of villany stands unparalleled in the annals of history. He durst scarcely venture to marry the Duke de Montpensier to the queen herself, since that would have brought to an instant issue the entangled question of the renunciation. But if he succeeded in uniting the queen with a person impotent in mind and body, whilst he secured her sister for his son, he would attain a doubly-triumphant end: first, by yielding an ostensible deference to the positive demands of England; and secondly, by insuring to his own descendants the ultimate succession to the throne. Such a person there was in the eldest cousin of the queen, Don Francisco, whom, however, she was known to abhor with all her soul. But she had a mother, an infamous and depraved woman, the niece of Louis-Philippe's own wife, who undertook to overcome the scruples of her daughter; and Count Bresson, the French ambassador, was supplied with immense sums of money to bribe the ministers and the attendants of the palace. It is sufficient to say their horrible machinations were successful. The wretched queen, abandoned to herself, and without a single friend to support her, was fain to yield to the importunities and threats with which she was assailed, and consented to accept the loathed creature who was forced upon her as a husband. The Duke de Montpensier married the Infanta, and Louis-Philippe hugged himself with the idea that his darling scheme was at last fully realised. But it was impossible that so hideous a transaction, marked with such unblushing perfidy and wickedness, could redound to his credit or to that of his subservient minister Guizot, who had conducted the affair in all its revolting details; and although among the French there was some feeling of satisfaction at the palpable affront given to England, and although deviations from morality were not regarded as of much moment by their lax consciences, they could not avoid acknowledging the incontestable guilt of their king; but repeated, with shrugging shoulders, that none might withstand the guiles and the wiles of the redoubtable 'old fox.'

The immediate effect of these Spanish marriages was naturally a decided alienation between the governments of France and England. The three northern powers perceived this result with exceeding complacency; and profiting by the pretence of insurrectionary movements in Gallicia, agreed among them to swamp the republic of Cracow, which, by the treaties of Vienna, had been

erected into an independent State. Such a measure of course involved an infraction of those treaties, and supplied a pretext for disregarding them altogether to any power which might subsequently think fit to do so ; hence it was an act of extreme impolicy, independently of the dangerous excitement it caused in France, who has always regarded herself as especially interested in the fortunes of the Poles. Nothing, therefore, could exceed the outburst of indignation when it was known that Guizot had contented himself with the mildest possible protest against this unwarrantable act of the three northern courts, and the irritation was partaken by all classes of the community. But in truth Louis-Philippe and his minister had turned their eyes towards a Russian alliance in lieu of the British, and they were intent to cultivate the good graces of the czar by a frank adoption of the absolutist system with reference to the minor States of Europe. Notwithstanding, however, the signal efforts made by the King of the French to take rank among the despots of his day, Nicolas the emperor showed little alacrity in responding to his advances ; and whilst the court journal, ' *La Presse*,' conducted by a clever, but unprincipled man, Emile de Girardin, was full of boasts that France and Russia, and, sooth to say, America also, would soon be united to exterminate Great Britain, scarcely any progress, in reality, was made towards even an accommodation with the haughty autocrat. He deigned, indeed, to intimate that if the French government evinced a proper spirit, and cordially joined in discouraging all liberal tendencies among the European communities, he would send an ambassador to Paris as a proof of his returning approbation. With this assurance Louis-Philippe and Guizot were obliged to content themselves, and they prepared to earn by an ample obedience the imperial boon promised as their reward. The first occasion they had of distinguishing themselves in their new career occurred in Switzerland, where the seven Catholic cantons rebelled against the authority of the general Diet, and refused to expel the Jesuits, against whom the Swiss were exasperated to the last degree of fury. These cantons formed a league amongst themselves, called *The Sonderbund*, and took up arms to resist the force of the central government, in which attitude of defiance they were encouraged and assisted by the court of the Tuileries, which caused them to be supplied with large quantities of arms and ammunition. The opportunity was a favourable one for Lord Palmerston to interfere on the opposite side, and he eagerly embraced it, thus rendering England the patron of the Helvetic Confederacy, and the cause of constitutional order against recalcitrant priests, whom France, on the contrary, took under her protection. Even an armed intervention by France and Austria on behalf of the *Sonderbund* was seriously mooted ; but the affair was happily settled by the Diet vindicating its authority, and subduing by force of arms the rebellious cantons.

This hostile position of their government with regard to the veritable liberties of Switzerland produced a painful sensation among the French, who began to rail against it for abandoning the English alliance with all the vigour they had previously displayed in condemning it for the self-same union. But it was unexpected events in Italy which were destined to carry to a climax the burning indignation of the French against their rulers for the spirit they manifested in foreign affairs. A new Pope, Pius IX., had ascended the throne of the Vatican; and, unlike his predecessor, showed himself animated by benevolent and enlightened views for the amelioration of the degenerate people committed to his charge. He began by calling to his council men eminent for liberal opinions, and introduced sweeping reforms into all the departments of the papal administration. He undertook even to promulgate a constitution; and this brilliant example had the effect of stirring up the neighbouring populations, who demanded the like concessions from their unwilling princes. Metternich was extremely alarmed at this unwonted movement commenced by the court of Rome, and remonstrated vehemently against it; but his Holiness did not the less persist in his praiseworthy intentions. It threw Louis-Philippe and Guizot into the very cruellest embarrassment, since, if they encouraged the agitation in Italy, they would at once forfeit all claim to the friendship of the autocrat; and if they discouraged it, or even held aloof, they were sure to arouse a storm in France which it would be difficult for them to allay. They had a watchful enemy ready to aggravate this embarrassment to the utmost pitch. In the Italian disturbances Lord Palmerston perceived the occasion of gratifying his two leading passions—his love of interference, and his thirst for revenge. Of all countries in the world the real interest of England most consisted in abstaining from intermeddling with other people's quarrels, and especially from stimulating the spirit of revolt and revolution; nevertheless Palmerston induced his colleagues to depute one of their number, Lord Minto, who held the ridiculous sinecure of keeper of the privy-seal, to proceed into Italy on a mission of revolutionary propagandism. His instructions were ostensibly those of a mediator; that is to say, he was to mediate between the princes and their discontented subjects, to procure for the latter the grant of constitutional liberties—an object in itself commendable enough, but with the matured experience Palmerston ought to have possessed, he must have known that such an interference was certain to inflame the populations, and lead them to insist upon extravagant demands. This was precisely what came to pass; and the only result of Lord Minto's autumn tour was to leave all Italy in a state of chaotic turmoil and fermentation, and the island of Sicily in full insurrection against its sovereign the king of Naples. But Palmerston achieved his purpose, and perhaps more than his

purpose, against Louis-Philippe and Guizot. No blow told with more fatal effect against them than this assumption by England of the very part which so naturally belonged to France, for the latter has ever considered herself as the only accredited agent of revolution; and from this moment every vestige of regard for the monarchy of July was extinguished among the middle classes, who had at all times been its main defenders and support, and in a few months the throne of the Barricades crumbled into dust.

When a country is on the eve of a great convulsion, it is often an incommensurate cause that eventually serves to provoke it. The disaffection against the government of Louis-Philippe had reached its culminating point towards the end of 1847, and, as almost invariably happens, a number of circumstances concurred to foster and augment it. Independently of the extreme disgust engendered by its foreign policy, there occurred a famine, a financial pressure, a commercial panic, an exposure of corruption among officials such as appalled the public apprehension, a discovery of atrocious crimes committed by persons high in the confidence of the king and the court. A deficient harvest had been common to all Europe, although it was chiefly the potato crop that proved an entire failure; and the calamity fell most grievously on Ireland, whose wretched people persisted in cultivating that root to the exclusion almost of every other esculent. To maintain the Irish population from starving, the British Parliament voted a sum of £10,000,000 sterling—a national alms the most stupendous and magnificent on record; in return for which the so-called patriots of that country attempted in the following year to instigate a rebellion, in which, however, they cut but a very contemptible figure, and only made apparent their own imbecile malignity and dastardly ferocity. The financial resources of the French government were so exhausted, that it had scarcely any means to alleviate the distress of the people caused by the high price of grain, and it was only by the formation of railways, which were principally promoted by British capital, that employment was found for the great bulk of the labouring-classes. No picture of reckless extravagance was ever more complete than that presented by the government of Louis-Philippe. The public debt had gone on steadily increasing since 1830, until in 1847 it amounted to upwards of 5,000,000,000 francs, or £200,000,000 sterling. In addition, there was an accumulated deficiency, extending over seven years, of more than 600,000,000 francs, or £24,000,000 sterling, which was sought to be provided for by a loan contracted through the Messrs Rothschild. Notwithstanding, the expenditure was still proceeding at a rate far beyond the receipts of the income, and not the slightest endeavour seems ever to have been made to establish anything like an equilibrium between the charge and the revenue. In the last year of Charles X., the budget of expenditure was under 1,000,000,000 (£40,000,000 sterling), but in

1847 it was upwards of 1,700,000,000 (£68,000,000 sterling), and from the indifferent returns of the year to the Exchequer, it was estimated that the expenditure was exceeding the income at the incredible rate of 1,000,000 francs, or £40,000 a day. Such was the desperate state of the finances under this vaunted administration of the sagacious Louis-Philippe and the conservative M. Guizot! An intolerable weight of taxation pressed upon the industrial resources of the country, and the only satisfaction the people had for their money, beyond a few sterile triumphs of the army over barbarian Arabs, was the rather dismal conviction that a very large portion of it was squandered in pure corruption; and it is in truth an indisputable fact, that so thoroughly corrupt a government as that of Louis-Philippe never existed in France, not excepting the Directory itself. Through every branch of the administration the foulest corruption prevailed, and startling evidence was given of its extent by the trial of Teste, a late colleague of Guizot, and Cubieres, who were proved guilty of bartering a delegation of works to a public company; and also by a trial for adultery, in which it was shown that a man called Petit had sacrificed his wife's honour to procure a place, the whole transaction being known to Lacave-Laplagne, minister of finance, and also to Guizot himself. It was but a poor excuse for Guizot that he did not personally share in the universal iniquity; because in reality he did share in it, since through it he maintained himself in power, the exercise of which was sufficiently gratifying to his proud and imperious temper. To crown the whole, and fill up the measure of public abhorrence, the Praslin tragedy occurred, in which a duke and a retainer of the court killed his wife with circumstances of revolting barbarity, and was allowed to commit suicide to escape the ignominious punishment the law would doubtless have awarded to his crime.

And after all, how was this rotten and depraved system to be amended or got rid of? With the existing Chamber of Deputies there was no chance of effecting any reformation, since the majority was itself interested in the prevailing abuses. The idea of an alteration in the electoral law naturally suggested itself to the minds of the leaders of the Opposition, such as Thiers, Dupin, and others, who were excessively disgusted at their long exclusion from power, and thought that through an extension of the suffrage that injustice might probably be repaired. Odillon-Barrot had long held the position and opinions of an electoral reformer, and he readily accepted the assistance of these more modern converts. Such men as Garnier-Pages and Arago, who really professed Republican principles, cordially joined in advocating a reform, in which they perceived a step towards the accomplishment of their greater design. Such was the excitable and inflammable state of the public mind, such the profound antipathy towards the subsisting government, that no sooner was this project of an electoral

amendment started, than, as by an electric shock, it seized upon the whole community, and from one end of France to the other arose in reverberating echoes the one deafening cry for REFORM. In the autumn of 1847 no less than seventy public banquets were held in the principal towns of the departments for the celebration of the cause, and thus the preliminary movement was commenced which was to lead to the inevitable revolution. In the stimulating of this movement the Republican leaders exhibited extreme tact, judgment, and discretion. They kept studiously in the background; and whilst they laboured diligently among the people to prepare them for the event of an insurrection, they permitted the bourgeoisie to monopolise all the honours of the agitation. Only, to exasperate the government and to fan the flame of discord, they prevailed upon several occasions to have struck out of the list of toasts the health of the king, which was an indication that first tended to alarm Thiers, Dupin, and Barrot. Still, they had not the smallest conception that they were acting as such mere tools in the hands of men with whom they would have spurned all alliance; and it may be said they would have preferred to endure any despotism perhaps rather than tolerated their association, the fearful end whereof could not be doubtful.

Such were the gloomy auspices under which the legislative session of 1847-8 was opened. On the 28th of December the king repaired in person to the Chamber of Deputies through thick files of soldiers and National Guards, the latter of whom raised frequent shouts of *Vive la réforme!* and delivered a speech in which he anathematised the agitation for electoral amendment as 'fomented by blind and hostile passions,' expressing a firm assurance that in the existing Charter and constitutional monarchy all needful guarantees were secured for the permanence of public liberty and order. This was tantamount to a declaration that no discussion even of the question of reform should be permitted, and was precisely such a gratuitous defiance as the headstrong and intolerant Guizot might have been expected to advise. It caused an irritation through the country such as it was impossible to mistake, and which none perhaps but so obtuse and infatuated a minister could have disregarded. Amidst the prodigious excitement occasioned by this position of direct antagonism between the crown and the nation, the Opposition leaders determined to hold a monster banquet in Paris itself, for the furtherance of the great and momentous cause. This intention was denounced by the government as illegal, although there can be little doubt it was not so, since occasional meetings, in which public order was not disturbed, were not prohibited by any enactment. However, after prohibiting the intended procession and banquet, a compromise was offered by the ministers, according to which they agreed to allow the meeting to take place, on condition that it should disperse on a formal summons by a commissary of police, and the question of

legality be forthwith submitted to the tribunals and Court of Cassation. The Opposition leaders were evidently disposed to accept this somewhat tame and peaceful solution of the matter, because they now began to be sensible of that menacing pressure behind them, which they justly feared to be ominous of far more serious changes than they at all contemplated. But the Republicans, and to them were added the Socialists and Communists, who had scarcely hitherto formed political bodies, were too conscious of the advantages they had already gained to permit them to slip away, and they were resolved that the demonstration should take place, judging well that whether the government interfered to prevent it by force or not, the result could not be otherwise than favourable to their designs. Accordingly a notification was issued on the morning of Monday the 21st February, by what was called the 'General Committee of the Banquet,' announcing that the celebration would take place on the following day, and that the procession would be formed on the Place de la Madeleine at half-past eleven in the forenoon. This procession was to be composed of citizens, deputies, peers, National Guards, editors of newspapers, students of the schools, and was to proceed in the order indicated through the Place de la Concorde and the Champs-Élysées, to the place where the banquet was to be held. This announcement was clearly illegal, because it called out the National Guards *as such*, a right possessed assuredly by the government alone; and the instant it appeared in the morning papers, Delessert, prefect of police, published a proclamation forbidding the demonstration, on the precise ground that a government was raised in opposition to the existing government, which, if allowed to carry out its purposes, must put an end to all social order. A violent discussion occurred in the Chamber of Deputies on this same day, in which the principal part was borne by Barrot and Duchâtel, minister of the interior; and the sitting broke up about six o'clock in tumultuous confusion, the ministers reiterating to the last their firm determination to prevent the meeting by force, and their fearlessness of the responsibility they would thereby incur.

On the same evening the members of the Opposition published a proclamation, in which they announced that as the government was bent on provoking a collision, they deemed it proper that the intended demonstration should be adjourned, but pledging themselves to vindicate the outraged rights of Frenchmen by all the constitutional means in their power. During the night additional troops were brought into Paris, and immense supplies of shells and ammunition were procured from the fortress of Vincennes, which were distributed among the barracks and detached forts around the city. On the morning of the 22d at least 80,000 soldiers were assembled to defend the throne of Louis-Philippe, and it was rumoured that Marshal Bugeaud, who was known to be a man of unrelenting ferocity, had been intrusted with the military com-

mand of the capital. Nothing daunted, however, by proclamations or congregated legions, and under admirable guidance, the populace of the faubourgs was stirring with the dawn, and pouring along the avenues and boulevards, flocked from all quarters towards the appointed Place de la Madeleine, on which and the Place de la Concorde were assembled about noon nearly 30,000 people. About 5000 crossed the bridge, and penetrated through the approaches to the Chamber of Deputies, rending the air with shouts, as they had been well taught, of *Down with Guizot! Vive la réforme! Vive Louis-Philippe!* It was the object of the Republicans to fight as long as possible under the banner of the bourgeoisie and of reform, because, by any premature indication of the movement being directed against the monarchy itself, the National Guards would have instantly taken the alarm, and instead of acting with the people, would in all probability have taken part against them. Meanwhile the Chamber of Deputies was sitting, and Guizot and the other ministers were present. M. de Hau-ranne lodged in the hands of the president, Sauzet, a document containing articles of impeachment against the ministers, signed by fifty-three deputies, with Odillon-Barrot at their head. Sauzet handed the paper to Guizot, who, on reading it, is reported to have laughed immoderately. Yes, laughed immoderately!—a sufficiently convincing proof of the real incapacity of his mind for any practical appreciation. During the whole afternoon vast multitudes perambulated the streets, and several barricades were erected, which, however, were not seriously defended, and nothing like a hostile collision occurred between the people and troops, who were saluted with caressing cries of *Vive la ligne!* and who displayed an evident indisposition to act against the people. But with the municipal guards the case was very different, for a deep feeling of animosity existed against them; and sundry conflicts took place, in which lives were sacrificed on both sides. Still very few casualties really occurred, as the people were for the most part unarmed; and by night the chief posts and arteries of the city were in the possession of the troops and the municipal guards.

The day's operations, nevertheless, had been too promising for the ~~Republicans and Socialists to allow the excitement to cool down~~; and besides, when the Parisians are once fairly aroused for a struggle, it is certain that they will go through with it to a ~~decided catastrophe. Long before break of day on the 23d the~~ operation of erecting barricades was commenced on numerous points, armourers' shops were broken open and pillaged, the inhabitants of private houses were summoned to surrender their arms, several posts of the municipal guards were stormed, and even some held by the regular troops, who in the majority of instances made no defence, but allowed themselves quietly to be disarmed. The insurrection, consequently, spread with tremendous rapidity; but still the cry was *Vive la réforme! A bas Guizot,*

the man of Ghent! After much doubt and hesitation, the government had resolved late in the previous afternoon to call out the National Guards, but only after it had made the ominous discovery that the soldiers could not be relied upon to fire against the people. This suspicion of the National Guards showed clearly upon what a precarious foundation the monarchy rested, and that it had become in reality little better than a bastard military despotism. Very few of them had answered to the summons, so utterly indifferent or rather hostile were they to the existing system; but on the 23d most of the legions turned out, as affairs began to wear a more serious aspect, and they commenced to have certain misgivings touching the pillage of their shops. They made no attempt, however, to oppose the progress of the insurgents; and in general so far fraternised with them as to interpose between them and the troops, who positively refused to act against the National Guards. Thus the insurrection gradually assumed the most formidable aspect, and fearful rumours began to reach the Palace of the Tuileries, in which all had hitherto been serenity and confidence. Deputations arrived from the legions of the Guards demanding in their name the dismissal of the ministers and the concession of reform. In deep alarm the king sent for Guizot from the Chamber of Deputies, and upon his arrival, declared to him that it was necessary to yield, and that he must with great reluctance accept his resignation. The disgraced minister recommended Count Molé to be intrusted with the formation of a new administration, and forthwith returned to the Chamber, where he made the important announcement that his ministry had ceased to exist. Shouts of exultation arose from the Opposition, at which Guizot manifested much vexation and want of temper; and he vociferated angrily, that notwithstanding such unseemly manifestations, the ministers would continue to do their duty until their successors were appointed. The news spread with astonishing celerity through all parts of the city, and was everywhere received with rapturous acclamations. A general fraternisation of the soldiers, the National Guards, and the people took place, the former suffering themselves in the most extraordinary manner to be despoiled of their arms, accoutrements, and head-pieces, which were carried off by men in dirty blouses, by women, and rascally urchins. But an act of such undoubted weakness on the part of the king as the abandonment of his minister in the first moment of danger, and at the palpable dictation of an armed insurrection, could scarcely be expected to appease and satisfy a multitude inflamed with passion and intoxicated with its unexpected victory. Yet it would seem that the great majority of the people supposed the object of their rising to be effected, and they dispersed into bands, perambulating the streets and boulevards, roaring in stentorian echoes the *Marseillaise* and the *Mourir pour la Patrie* of the

Girondins. It is not probable they would have resumed on the morrow their usual avocations, and left M. Molé to form a new ministry at his leisure; but the apprehension they might do so occurred to the mind of a ruffian, such as France enjoys the monopoly of producing, one Lagrange, who, collecting about him a horde of desperadoes, proceeded to the hôtel of the minister of foreign affairs, before ~~which a troop of soldiers was drawn up. A great number of spectators were standing idly about, many of them parleying with the soldiers,~~ and Lagrange advanced to the officer in command, and fired a pistol at him. The shot took effect only on his horse; but believing an attack about to be made on his whole troop, the officer unhappily gave the word to fire, and nearly fifty individuals are reported to have fallen killed or wounded. That the affair was preconcerted with other accomplices implicated besides Lagrange, was apparent from the fact of carts being in readiness to convey away the bodies, which were paraded with every circumstance of melancholy display through all the thoroughfares, and into the remotest faubourgs of the city. The sight exasperated the people to a pitch of delirium, and one universal howl for vengeance resounded from one end of the vast metropolis to the other.*

During the entire night all was conflict and commotion. The people had insisted that the houses should be illuminated in celebration of Guizot's dismissal, and as the public lamps had been for the most part broken, the light from expiring tapers alone shed a fitful glare upon the deep darkness. Nevertheless the people provided themselves with torches, and attacked with desperate fury the municipal guards wherever they encountered them. These unfortunate men defended themselves with obstinacy, for they had no mercy or quarter to expect, and blood flowed lavishly on both sides. As for the troops, they were exhausted with fatigue, whilst so defective were the arrangements for their relief, that they were left without rations, and they were supplied with food by women from the popular ranks, which naturally disposed them more than ever to take part with the people. A striking instance occurred, showing the extent to which this feeling had reached, and also the astounding audacity of the insurgents. A convoy of ammunition-wagons and cannon passing along the boulevards in the dusk, guarded by three regiments of the line and about 500 National Guards, was seized by the populace, and the ammunition forthwith distributed, whilst the guns were carried off amid shouts of laughter, the soldiers and guards looking on with perfect indifference, and eventually fraternising with the mob. Meanwhile the work of erecting

* The miscreant Lagrange himself escaped, but he subsequently went mad, and was confined for some time in a lunatic asylum. He was elected, nevertheless, to be a member of the first National Assembly under the Republic!

barricades was prosecuted in earnest; all the fine trees on the boulevards were cut down, the paving-stones torn up, furniture, carriages, omnibuses, everything that could be obtained, was put in requisition, and before morning nearly 2000 barricades had been constructed fitted to resist the shock of the most powerful artillery. Such an exertion and such a determination on the part of a population was certainly never exhibited with an equal hardihood and an equal heroism; and well might the poor dotard king quake at the terrible intelligence was brought to him in the dead of night. His first impulse was to sign an ordinance appointing Marshal Bugeaud to the command of the National Guards and all the troops in Paris, declaring the city, moreover, in a state of siege; and next to send in all haste for M. Thiers, who accordingly appeared in his presence about five in the morning. Molé had already shrunk from the responsibility of forming a ministry; but Thiers readily undertook the task, on condition that Odillon-Barrot was given him as a colleague. To this Louis-Philippe made no objection; and at eight o'clock Thiers, Barrot, and several others of the Opposition appeared in the streets, making their way to the Tuileries across the barricades. The people recognised them, and greeted them with cries of *Vivent Thiers et Barrot! Vive la réforme!* 'Yes, yes,' said Thiers, 'you shall have reform;' and so the party passed on. Proclamations were forthwith distributed announcing the advent of Thiers and Barrot to power, and orders were at the same time issued to the military to cease from using their weapons, and to retire into their barracks. Bugeaud threw up his command in disgust, and another Algerian, General Lamoriciere, was nominated in his stead. Having performed these preliminary acts, ~~Thiers and Barrot~~ complacently regarded the insurrection as at an end, never doubting that their popularity was such as to insure for them a general confidence, and that their nomination ~~would be~~ attended with an immediate restoration of tranquillity.

Never did men make a more egregious mistake touching their real influence over a movement they had done much to provoke, but which had long ago escaped from their control. Some of the insurgent groups, it is true, received the announcement with acclamations; but in general the placards containing it were indignantly torn down, and first was heard in growling accents that ominous phrase, so often ~~subsequently repeated~~, '*It is too late!*' And now, too, the Republicans felt emboldened to throw off the mask, and repeated cries were raised of *Vive la République!* It was indeed mere imbecility to suppose that excited combatants, flushed with the consciousness of victory, aware of all the power they wielded, and against whom all further resistance was withdrawn, would suddenly stop short in their career, and be satisfied with less than the full realisation of their mastery. The successive concessions themselves tended inevitably to raise the aspirations of the con-

querors, and show them that they might insist on any terms they pleased. Consequently not a moment's delay was lost in pressing onwards to seize all the posts not yet in their possession, and the first grand attack was made on the military post of the Place du Palais-Royal. This was called the Château d'Eau, and was defended principally by municipal guards, who either had not received any orders to abstain from further resistance, or were apprehensive that they would be massacred under any circumstances. They accordingly held out with the most determined tenacity, and a furious combat ensued, which continued for many hours. The post was at length set on fire, and every man among them perished amidst the flames who had escaped the previous slaughter. The Palais-Royal itself was stormed after a murderous conflict, and all the rich furniture destroyed or thrown into the court to be burnt in a huge pile. The firing at this scene of warfare was distinctly heard in the palace of the Tuileries, and occasioned an intense alarm in the minds of its unhappy inmates. Louis-Philippe was surrounded by a confused crowd of persons, who, from moment to moment, brought intelligence of the events that were passing, and who stunned the monarch with their contradictory advices and counsels. Thiers and Barrot were present, but they were quite bewildered, and had no course to propose. Girardin at length burst into the room, and proclaimed the direful news that the National Guards and the people were advancing on the Tuileries; that they would be in front of it in a few minutes; and that unless some decided step were taken, torrents of blood would flow, for which an inexpiable vengeance would be demanded. But what was this decided step? Girardin avowed that the only chance remaining to save the dynasty was by the instant abdication of the king in favour of his grandson the Count de Paris, under the regency of the Duchess of Orleans. Louis-Philippe listened with a species of stupid amazement and in deep agitation, large drops of sweat pouring from his forehead; but after a long hesitation, he signified his willingness to abdicate. He had lost by the death of his sister a resolute counsellor, who might have probably infused some courage into him in this critical extremity; yet the queen violently opposed the proposition, and appealed with tears in her eyes to those around to save her husband from such an act of weakness. But all in vain; none essayed to support her in her heroic sentiments, and Louis-Philippe signed his abdication. Precisely like Charles X. eighteen years before, he vainly thought that the throne he himself could no longer support might be devolved on the shoulders of a puling infant.

No sooner was the act of abdication signed, than means were taken to publish it with all despatch throughout Paris. But it produced not the slightest effect on the triumphant insurgents, who received the intelligence with shouts of derision. And now in

truth they began to deploy in formidable strength before that edifice, which has acquired so deathless a historical renown for the multitudinous vicissitudes of its occupants. The National Guards continued to head the aggressive movement, and a deputation of their staff demanded that the palace should be delivered into their care, to prevent a needless effusion of blood. Whilst the parley was still proceeding, an indescribable consternation seized upon all the members of the royal family. As for Louis-Philippe, the idea of his personal safety seemed now alone to absorb him; and fearing every moment to see the populace burst into his apartments, he left the palace with such precipitation, that he carried nothing with him beyond the clothes on his back. It was the same with the queen, and they issued out into the garden accompanied by about thirty individuals chiefly in uniforms, who escorted them to the Place de la Concorde, where they got into a one-horse hackney-coach, and were driven off in the direction of St Cloud. Such was the ignominious exit of this great potentate from the seat of his power, and such the utter state of abandonment in which he was left at his downfall! Although no pursuit was meditated against him, he was filled with the direst alarms, and at the first opportunity disguised his person by shaving off his whiskers, and substituting an old scratch wig for his well-known lofty toupee. As he had not provided himself with money, at Versailles a subscription was made for him of 200 francs by the officers of a regiment of cavalry, who also furnished him with horses to continue his flight. He ultimately reached the coast in safety, and escaped in a steamboat to England under the name of William Smith, landing at Newhaven on the ~~24~~ 27 of March wrapped up in an old peacoat given him as a covering by the captain of the vessel. In this aquatic garb, his head encased in a woollen bonnet, and his beard showing the grisly proportions of a seven-days' growth, he once more set foot in England, accompanied by his unfortunate queen; and as he gained its shore, expressed a suspicious hope that he might never again leave its hospitable protection. So ended his fallacious dream of earthly grandeur to Louis-Philippe, first and last King of the French.

At the same moment that the king and queen fled through the garden of the Tuileries, the other members of the royal family left the palace under the influence of the like bewildering panic. The Duchesses of Nemours and Montpensier were left by their chivalrous husbands to make good their escape as they best might; and the latter, in particular, a young forlorn stranger, wandered alone through the streets of Paris for many hours, until she accidentally met a person who recognised her, and who supplied her with the means of proceeding to the coast. The Duchess of Orleans alone, relying upon the popularity of her

deceased husband, manifested some firmness and presence of mind. Taking with her her two sons, and accompanied by the ~~Dukes of Nemours and Montpensier~~, she crossed the garden on foot, surrounded by a great number of National Guards, and repaired to the Chamber of Deputies, into which she penetrated through a turbulent crowd with the greatest difficulty. This was undoubtedly the only step by which the dynasty could be saved, and upon her first appearance she was greeted with gratifying acclamations. But the scene soon changed. It was in vain ~~Dupin and Barrot ascended the tribune and spoke~~ in behalf of the regency; the galleries and hall ~~were invaded~~ by a ruffian crew, who levelled their muskets at the president, the deputies, and the princess herself, and would allow no resolution to be passed. Several deputies gathered round the duchess, and intreated her to withdraw lest some fatal accident should befall herself and her children; but she steadily resisted for some time, and only consented at last when the uproar and tumult reached a height of appalling danger. After her retired the president and the great majority of the members, who thus abandoned the destinies of France to the caprice and will of a few hundreds of *sans-culottes* and students, who had been tutored to roar for a ~~PROVISIONAL GOVERNMENT~~. Dupont (de l'Eure), the veteran ~~Revolutionist~~, was placed in the president's chair, and amid a clamour of tongues and a medley of savage sounds, such as befitted the rough character of the conquerors, a Provisional Government was voted, consisting of names approved of by the barbaric crowd, and the famous Hôtel de Ville assigned as the seat of its sovereignty.

Meanwhile the popular triumph had been additionally consummated by the capture and sack of the Tuileries, from the defence of which the troops had been withdrawn; and the same scenes of reckless destruction enacted as in the similar invasions of 1792 and 1830. The apartments of the royal family were found precisely as they had been just occupied, with books, writings, ornaments, jewellery, lying scattered about, and nothing was respected but the private rooms of the Duchess of Orleans, who on the following day recovered some of her valuables, and proceeded at leisure to the German frontier. But the new Provisional Government was not installed with all the unanimity that had been expected. The list of names chosen at the Chamber had been in truth concocted at the office of the 'National,' whilst a rival list had been prepared at the office of 'La Réforme,' which for the violence of its republicanism perhaps exceeded even its furious contemporary. This second Provisional Government arrived at the Hôtel de Ville almost at the same time as the first, and claimed to be nominated likewise by the authority of the sovereign people. These counter claims might have given rise to a dangerous controversy; but as the

two lists ~~both contained~~ four at least of the same individuals, it was easy to arrange a compromise, and a fusion of parties was speedily effected. Still, although this arrangement occupied comparatively little time, the people on the Place de Grève, who are reputed to have amounted to 50,000 armed men, grew terribly impatient, and raised tremendous shouts for the proclamation of the Republic, and the names of the members of the government. Some of the more eager pressed up the stairs of the magnificent edifice, and burst into the saloon where the deliberations were proceeding. These being prematurely brought to a close, a personage was deputed to descend to the outer steps of the Hôtel and announce their result. Through some strange caprice, the personage selected for this office was a diminutive creature called Louis-Blanc, who scarcely reached to the armpit of a man of ordinary height, but who was favourably known to the rabble by his anarchical and socialist principles.* By those who did not know him, the appearance of so singular a pigmy was hailed with boisterous shouts of derision; but soon the proclamation of a Republic was made, and then from the assembled myriads there arose such a cry of jubilation as might seem to shake every throne in the universe. Mad and intoxicated, the people abandoned themselves to the most grotesque exhibitions of joy: they danced, they embraced, they fired their muskets into the air, and never were they tired of ringing the changes on the everlasting refrains of the *Marseillaise* and the *Mourir pour la Patrie*. The scene assuredly was one of an animating, an exhilarating, and even a sublime description; and if a philosophic spectator could have divested himself of the fearful reminiscences that lurked behind the name, he would have rejoiced at the spectacle of so grand a fraternity, and joined heartily in the echoes of those shouts which were to reverberate to the utmost confines of the world, making known there had been once more launched into existence that very dubious manufacture called a French Republic.

The members of the Provisional Government being named exclusively by the mob, the National Guards having no share whatever in the nominations, it was natural that many of them should be wholly unknown to general fame, and have a reputation rather among secret societies and pot-houses than with the people of France. Some there were, however, whose names inspired a slender confidence in their integrity, and who, it was hoped, might

* Louis-Blanc was of a noble Corsican family, his mother being sister to Count Pozzo di Borgo. He was educated for the diplomatic profession; but an unhappy sarcasm from the Duchess de Dino, Talleyrand's niece, relative to his personal deformity, so stung him, that he forthwith abandoned the intention, and devoted himself by intense study to revenge on society the insults and contumelies of which he had been the object from his earliest days at school. It is impossible to deny that he is a man of talent and genius, but he has perverted them miserably in the gratification of his morbid passion.

restrain their more violent colleagues from the spoliation and bloodshed to which they were supposed to be committed by their principles. Dupont (de l'Eure) was a respectable old man enough sinking into dotage; Arago, the famous academician, Garnier-Pages, and even Armand Marrast, editor of the 'National,' were looked upon as at least honest Republicans, and were separated from the Socialists and Anarchists with whom they were associated. But one name above all others, whilst it created vast astonishment, gave satisfaction by the antecedents of its owner—namely, that of Lamartine. Much certainly could not be said in favour of this personage in a political point of view, for he had been by turns of every hue in the category of parties; having commenced his career as a burning Legitimist. He had never acquired any influence as a party-leader, for his excessive vanity and boundless caprice rendered him ever unsteady in his opinions and faithless in his attachments. He was, nevertheless, a most engaging and seductive orator, and no deputy was listened to from the tribune with more attention or delight. He was the author of several poetical works of the very highest merit, which had attained an extraordinary popularity, and which were all marked by a sublimity of feeling and a religious fervour compatible only apparently with the noblest elevation of mind. But discontented with the insignificant position he occupied in the existing system, he bethought him, on a day not auspicious to his good name, of emerging on a new path, and coming forth as the apologist of Robespierre and the triumvirate of the Committee of Public Safety. This he did in what he called a 'History of the Girondins,' wherein he strove to represent Robespierre, albeit wallowing in the blood of thousands, as a man of very gentle heart after all, animated with pure intentions, and full of philanthropical aspirations. It had been before urged in defence of Robespierre that he was a fanatic, which in reality he was not, for he had far too much villanous hypocrisy to be a fanatic; but it was reserved for M. Lamartine to discover him to be the sweetest and most amiable of mankind. The discovery, however, stood him in good stead, for he at once became a cherished idol with all the Revolutionists panting to re-enact the part of the bloody dictator, and it occasioned his spontaneous twofold election as a member of the Provisional Government upon the overthrow of the monarchy. He was put forward, doubtless, as Lafayette would have been, as an instrument to be used for the first establishment of a Republic, since his reputation was useful to calm sinister apprehensions; but the event turned out differently from what was anticipated; and Lamartine, with a heroism and courage which can never be too highly extolled, nobly fulfilled the duty which fell to him, and often, by his undaunted and flashing eloquence, deterred the infuriated mob from desperate

resolutions, and saved France and Europe from incalculable calamities.

~~On the 24th of February 1848, therefore, France became a~~ Republic—that classic appellation in which so many glorious reminiscences are mingled, and in the realisation of which is held to be involved the perfection of human virtue and happiness. And did any one in Paris or in France suppose that this Republic would have for its basis a stoical virtue in its rulers, or the superior happiness of the general population? Not at all: every reflecting person, on the contrary, regarded it with the deepest affright, and cursed it in his heart as the symbol of wickedness, tyranny, and misery. The National Guards, in particular, were maddened beyond expression, for it was they that had pulled down the throne of Louis-Philippe, who had always been a benefactor at least to the bourgeoisie, and in his place they had ~~installed the government of the mob~~, the one most inimical and ruinous to their interests as tradesmen. A thousand times they regretted the insane course into which they had been betrayed, and they would gladly have had Louis-Philippe back with all his iniquities, rather than suffer the intolerable infliction of a democratic anarchy. But such was the terror inspired by the armed populace, that they durst not venture even to utter a murmur, and they were fain to wear that most loathsome mask of slaves, the hollow smile of joy at what turned their stomachs sick. It was the same with all but those who could boast the fortunate addition of *ouvriers*, or workmen, to their names, for these indeed mounted at once to be the veritable lords of the ascendant and of creation, who appeared everywhere to assert their mastery, and make the frilled cambric do homage to the dirty blouse. It was the fable of the world turned upside down, the saturnalia of the helots emancipated for ever from taskmasters. Louis-Blanc had discovered an infallible nostrum for the evils of the social system in what he designated ‘the Organisation of Labour,’ and he was nominated with Albert (who wrote always ‘ouvrier’ after his name, although he was in reality a writer for newspapers) to preside over a committee composed of workmen, and which held its sittings at the Luxembourg in the grand saloon of the late Chamber of Peers. ~~This committee established what were called~~ *Ateliers Nationaux*, or National Workshops, in which every man who claimed it had a right to be employed—that is to say, to receive a very liberal rate of wage, and to work or not as he pleased. These terms were vastly agreeable to such a population as that of the Parisian faubourgs, and they approved of the scheme right heartily. Nay, so highly were its advantages esteemed, that all the most worthless and idle of the labouring-classes poured into Paris from the departments, and soon 60,000 names were enrolled as candidates for the favours of the *Ateliers*.

Nationaux. ~~They were divided into regular~~ brigades and companies, with particular officers to each, and the whole affair was conducted with a species of military regularity. But the chief ~~work performed by these national labourers~~ was careering through the streets roaring revolutionary songs, and planting trees of liberty, which they compelled unwilling ecclesiastics to leave their domiciles to consecrate. The money wasted upon this mere banditti was enormous; and the wretched shopkeepers looked aghast, asking themselves if this was to go on for ever, and who was to pay for it! Then several regiments of Gardes-Mobiles were instituted, who were ~~allowed a higher~~ pay than the regular soldiers, and the army itself was considerably augmented. Thus if the late government had been reckless in its expenditure, and had coolly spent 1,000,000 francs a day above its income, the Republic displayed a yet more dashing indifference to money, and lavished it with all the more zest apparently that the resources were sinking lower and lower with the revolution of every hour.

In fact nothing could be more desolate and miserable than the state of France in consequence of the late convulsion. The depreciation in the value of property was perfectly enormous, amounting on the three items of the public funds, bank shares, and railway stock alone, to no less than 3,750,000,000 of francs, or £150,000,000 sterling. As for houses and land, they were altogether unsaleable, and had no value whatever; portable goods were convertible into cash only at less than half the cost of production. ~~The financial pressure that ensued was perhaps the most terrible that ever afflicted a nation.~~ The government, to provide for its own urgent wants, was obliged to draw largely upon the funds of the Bank of France, which, although one of the best-conducted establishments in Europe, was unable to withstand so constant a drain, and it was compelled to suspend cash payments. This was the signal for almost every private banker and extensive trader in Paris and throughout France to stop payment likewise, and the national industry ~~was~~ utterly prostrated. ~~So complete an annihilation of trade and commerce had not been witnessed since the dismal era of 1793, and a universal ruin over-~~spread the land, including in it naturally all the more respectable of the working-classes. Louis-Blanc's system of organisation of labour was based upon the principle of perfect equality among workmen, so that the most skilled and industrious artisan was ~~placed upon precisely~~ the same level as the most ignorant and idle. It was adapted therefore, only for the true vagabonds of the community; and this it would seem designedly, for there can be no doubt Louis-Blanc had no faith in his own theories. The organised bands of the Ateliers Nationaux were maintained purposely to be used as revolutionary instruments when the time

came for establishing the Red Republic, the Democratic and Social Republic as it was called, to which Louis-Blanc and his colleague Albert were heart and soul devoted. This Red Republic meant no other than a revival of the Reign of Terror in its worst shape; and it had warm advocates in two at least of the Provisional Government—Ledru-Rollin, minister of the interior, and Carnot, minister of public instruction. The prefect of police also, Canssidiere, and his self-appointed adjunct Sobrier, were even more deeply implicated in the terrorist and communist conspiracy; and the commander of the National Guards himself, General Courtais, was pledged to the same unholy league. The sense of these dangers weighed most gloomily on the public mind, and joined with the rabid violence of the clubs, which had sprung up in teeming multitudes, filled all moderate people with the profoundest alarm. Business was completely at a stand-still; more than half the shops of Paris were shut up; all inland and foreign commerce had ceased; the taxes could not be collected from the utter impoverishment of the tax-payers, and yet the government imposed an addition of forty-five centimes on the existing contributions; continual outbreaks were occurring in the different towns of the departments; the sentiment of order, peace, and tranquillity was wholly banished; and, upon the whole, such a picture of woe and desolation was never presented by a wretched people, save the French themselves in prior phases of their disastrous revolutions.

But was all this sacrifice of property, this extinguishment of the national industry, this paralysis of all the sinews of greatness among a people, this general and fearful misery—was it compensated by the recovery of liberty, in whose name the Revolution had been consummated? Not in the very smallest degree: the populace exercised the wildest license, it is true, and imposed its laws from time to time upon its creature the Provisional Government, who obeyed by publishing innumerable edicts of the most despotic character; but all other classes of the community trembled with dismay, and none ventured even by word to dispute the sovereign will of the insensate mob. The National Guards were sulky and discontented, but they stood in profound awe of their late allies and present masters; and the whole hopes of the country rested on the meeting of the National Assembly, which had been convoked on the widest principle of universal suffrage, and been ultimately appointed to assemble on the 4th of May in the building of the old Chamber of Deputies, the Palais-Bourbon, at the end of the Bridge de la Concorde. Towards the beginning of April a decided reaction began to set in against the intolerable tyranny of the mob, in which both the military and the National Guards largely partook; and at last certain picked legions of the latter, fairly aroused by uncon-

trollable indignation, and by the very extent of their degradation and suffering, determined upon the first opportunity to retrieve their disgrace, and wreak a signal revenge. Nor had they to wait long. On the 16th of April a huge gathering took place on the Champ de Mars, with the avowed intention of marching on the Hôtel de Ville, and compelling the majority of the government either to resign their places or yield to the minority; or, in other words, to install Ledru-Rollin, Louis Blanc, Albert, Blanqui, Sobrier, and other Anarchists, Socialists, and Communists, as the Chiefs of the State. The government had no protection against this invasion, for all the soldiers had been removed from Paris, and it was accordingly in a state of the cruellest apprehension. Pages and Marrast strenuously advised an appeal to the National Guard; Lamartine hesitated, and talked ominously about the danger of a counter-revolution, for he was totally destitute of energy in action; but at last it was resolved to call out both the Nationals and the Mobiles and just in time they were mustered in sufficient numbers to protect the Hôtel de Ville from a sudden assault. Cannon were also planted to sweep the square before the hôtel; and when the first ranks of the insurgents began to arrive, they were so amazed at the preparations made to resist them, that after fruitlessly insisting upon their right to penetrate into the presence of the government, their leaders judged the enterprise to be a failure, and drew them off uttering howls of disappointed vengeance. From this moment the National Guards resumed all their courage, but the most intense hatred was engendered between them and the populace of the faubourgs.

During the elections for the National Assembly, Ledru-Rollin had used all the administrative means at his disposal as minister ~~of the interior~~ to influence them in behalf of ~~destructives~~, and had sent commissioners into the departments armed with despotic powers to displace suspected functionaries, and to act in everything as it seemed best to them for the 'public welfare.' He also issued the most violent circulars, in which he stated that if France made a choice of representatives such as the people of Paris could not approve of, the said people of Paris would reject them, for they would never allow faithless reactionists to act as the representatives of the nation. Carnot, minister of religion and public instruction, seconded his efforts by issuing instructions to curés, teachers, and all under his authority, to exert themselves to procure the rejection of all men of property and intelligence, and the return, on the contrary, of uneducated artisans and peasants. Notwithstanding, however, these disgraceful manoeuvres, worthy of Villele in the worst days of monarchical tyranny, France returned a large majority of conservative deputies—men doubtless professing, as was incumbent, to revere and uphold the Republic, but animated with a deep abhorrence of Anarchists and

Socialists, and determined to support a moderate and equitable policy. They met on the 4th of May, as previously appointed; and so promptly was the threat of Ledru-Rollin attempted to be carried into execution by the Red Republicans, that on the 15th ~~an armed multitude burst into the hall of sitting, and forcibly expelled the representatives.~~ The pretence for this gathering had been to petition in behalf of Poland; and so ready were the National Guards even yet to be duped, that many of them had the incredible folly to join in the demonstration. The moment, however, the pretended petitioners got possession of the Chamber, they very soon showed what their real objects were. Barbes, who had already been once condemned to death for murder, and had been liberated from his fetters through the Revolution, took the ~~most prominent~~ part on this occasion. He moved decrees to the following effect:—that a tax of two milliards (£80,000,000 sterling) should be levied upon the rich for the benefit of the poor; that the National Guards should be disarmed and suppressed; and that the guillotine should be re-erected, as a permanent engine for the political regeneration of the country. These decrees were passed, or at least hailed with acclamations; but some of the insurgents were not altogether contented with them, and a voice cried out, 'Barbes, that is not all; thou promised us two days' pillage of reactionary Paris!' A new Provisional Government was nominated, consisting of Barbes, Raspail, Huber, Blanqui, Ledru-Rollin, Flocon, Louis-Blanc, and Albert, several of whom repaired forthwith to the Hôtel de Ville to install themselves in office. But meanwhile the intelligence of the invasion of the National Assembly had spread through Paris, and the National Guards turned out spontaneously in immense force. Their commander, General Courtais, had openly joined the insurgents; but they marched nevertheless under their colonels of legions in perfect order on the Palais Bourbon, penetrated into it at the point of the bayonet, and expelled the tumultuous rabble. They then proceeded to the Hôtel de Ville, headed by Lamartine, who had previously concealed himself with great pusillanimity, stormed it, seized Barbes and Albert, the latter being in a state of intoxication, and carried them off at once as prisoners to the fortress of Vincennes. Sobrier, Blanqui, and Huber were also subsequently arrested; but chiefly through the vacillating imbecility of Lamartine, who stood in profound awe of Ledru-Rollin, the other chiefs of the daring insurrection, such as Louis-Blanc, Rollin himself, and Caussidiere, were allowed to remain unmolested; and the whole affair was hushed up as much as possible.* Nevertheless, this audacious attempt against the national

* Subsequently, when the Assembly had gained more courage, Louis-Blanc and Caussidiere were ordered to be prosecuted for their complicity in the affair

representation, springing from the suffrages of the entire adult population of France, by a contemptible minority consisting of the most worthless of the Parisian populace, showed sufficiently what degree of regard the ultra-Republicans really had for the voice of the people, and how utterly false were all the pretexts they had so long been in the habit of parading.

This first failure, however, was not sufficient to daunt the Anarchists and Socialists, and they made a yet more desperate effort in the following month to retrieve their defeat. The Ateliers Nationaux had been long recognised as a crying evil, which wasted the resources of the State,* and maintained organized bands of rebels ever ready to fly to arms for the overthrow of society. It was determined, accordingly, to close them, and dismiss their turbulent occupants; and as a preliminary step, several thousands of them who belonged to the provinces were paid their wages on the 22d of June, conducted to the barriers, and, as was thought, sent forth to their homes. But they loitered in the wine-houses outside the barriers, and on the following day again joined their comrades in the city. Then commenced suddenly, and without any previous warning, the most formidable insurrection that had ever taken place even in Paris. Barricades, of course, were erected as usual, and upwards of 60,000 combatants stood prepared to wage a final battle for the Red Republic. The government was deposed by the Assembly, which justly suspected many of its members of treachery; and General Cavaignac was nominated chief of the executive power, with full powers to suppress the revolt. Cavaignac, although a staunch and earnest Republican, was a friend, above all things, to moderation and order, and he displayed a coolness and determination on this great emergency which have secured him an everlasting renown. For three days the most desperate combat was sustained, and every barricade had to be carried separately by sheer fighting. The soldiers, the National Guards, the Gardes Mobiles, all manifested the most heroic spirit; and at length the insurgents were subdued, and driven out of Paris. The slaughter on both sides was terrific, and exceeded, it is said, 6000 killed and wounded. Most horrible cruelties were practised on both sides, and particularly by the insurgents, who were attended by a horde of fiendish women, to whom the infliction of torments upon prisoners was committed. One of these wretches named Leblanc, who was subsequently taken, boasted that she had put to death, in lingering agony, no

of the 15th May; but the two patriots fled for shelter from the punishment of their crimes to England, the country they had passed their lives in vilifying and misrepresenting.

* The total expense of the Ateliers Nationaux under Louis-Blanc's management, without anything to show for it but some bare poles, called trees of liberty, was ascertained to be precisely, in Paris alone, 14,174,987 francs, or about £560,000 sterling, for the four months during which the monstrous incubus was tolerated.

less than six of the young Mobiles, for which hellish feat her name was made a standing toast among the patriots of Ireland. General Brea was seduced by a pretended parley to mount a barricade with an aid-de-camp, when they were both barbarously murdered. The Archbishop of Paris advanced into the midst of the fray, to calm by his intercession the passions of these ruffians, but they shot him dead also. In fact the ferocity exhibited was that of savages and cannibals, and whenever again the praises of the people of Paris are sounded for their moderation and humanity, the days of June 1848 will for ever stand to give them emphatically the lie. After the defeat of the rebels, they were pursued into the country, and ultimately upwards of 5000 prisoners were captured, the greater part of whom were condemned to transportation by military councils, for Paris was declared in a state of siege, and the ordinary laws were suspended. Such was the hideous result of a Republic within four months of its promulgation!

Cavaignac had rendered such inestimable service to his country, to the holy cause of order and liberty, by the skill and fortitude with which he had routed these execrable enemies of mankind, that he was continued by the grateful Assembly, and with the applause of all France, at the head of the executive government, and armed for the time with the powers of a military dictatorship. Such powers were essential for the preservation of the fabric of society, so early in the career of the new Republic had France once more shown her incapacity to comprehend and enjoy a rational freedom. Under the protection of the sword of Cavaignac, the National Assembly prosecuted its great task of framing a constitution for France, which for its pure democratic complexion fell short only of the famous Jacobin programme of 1793. Henceforth France was to be a Republic, and as such to take the initiative of progress and civilisation; at least so said the preamble. The right of citizens to be found with labour and wages, which had been at first unconditionally proclaimed, was declared to be available only according to the resources of the State. There was to be one representative assembly, consisting of 750 members, chosen according to ratios of population by universal suffrage and ballot; and at the head of the government was to be placed a president, elected in like manner by universal and direct suffrage, who was to hold office for four years, and be entitled to appoint his own ministers. Moreover, it was requisite that some one of the candidates should have an absolute majority of all the votes polled, otherwise the nomination devolved on the National Assembly, which was to select one out of the five commanding the greatest amount of suffrages. A vice-president was to be appointed by the president, subject to the approval of the Assembly. Such was the legislative and executive form devised for the per-

manence of the infant Republic, already half stifled ere it had emerged from the cradle.

Three very strange peculiarities had marked the revolutionary era of 1830, and, singular to relate, almost precisely identical ones appeared to signalise this passing era of 1848. First, the Asiatic cholera followed in the immediate train of each, although in the latter year it was infinitely more mild, occurring with severity almost exclusively in Scotland, a country claiming to have no affinity with revolutionists, and to be distinguished for a piety superior to all the world, whilst it passed over France with scarcely a trace of malignity. Secondly, as the government of Charles X. had captured Algiers just previously to his deposition, so that of Louis-Philippe had secured its final conquest by the surrender of the celebrated Emir Abdel-Kader, who had for many years waged an interminable war against the French, and contested against them the possession of the African deserts, with a courage and pertinacity worthy of the cause he defended. The Emir had delivered himself into the hands of the Duke d'Aumale, whom the fatuity of his father had made viceroy of Algiers, on condition that he should be allowed to retire into a Mussulman country; but on his being sent to France, Louis-Philippe disregarded this condition, and threw the venerable and sainted chief into a prison. Thus at the exact moment that their respective knells were about to sound, Charles X. and Louis-Philippe secured the same valuable acquisition to France at the same cost to themselves of honour and reputation. Thirdly, the relations with England were in each instance hostile, and on the point of leading to a rupture; and therefore as the Duke of Wellington and Lord Aberdeen had instantly recognized Louis-Philippe in 1830, so did Lord Palmerston the Republic in 1848. Not that either of these diplomatists had any merit in so doing, because the voice of the British nation was sufficiently imperative to compel them to acknowledge each of the respective governments; but the singularity consisted in the intimate union that immediately followed between the two countries.

Meanwhile the election for president commenced amidst an unparalleled excitement. The only two candidates who, from the first, had the smallest chance of uniting upon their heads the requisite number of suffrages, were Cavaignac and Louis-Napoleon Bonaparte, the nephew of the Emperor. The first had been tried, and proved himself of sterling worth; the latter was known only by his strange adventure at Strasburg, and by his yet more strange descent at Boulogne in a subsequent year. Yet so profound and ineradicable was the veneration of the French people for the memory of the great Napoleon, that, despite all Cavaignac's claims and services, the imperial scion was preferred by an overwhelming majority of many millions, and in December he

was installed with the simplest ceremony as president of the Republic. As the son of Louis, king of Holland, he was next in succession to the crown by the constitutions of the Empire, to which circumstance must be ascribed his election, as the son of Lucien was the eldest nephew of the Emperor, although excluded by the same constitutions from the succession. With the accession of Louis-Napoleon to the presidency ended the revolution of 1848. But the spirit of discord in the nation was not allayed by the establishment of a regular republican government. Large numbers of persons, chiefly of a humble class, wished for some form of government which would partition property, and lead to the anarchical exaltation of the wilder class of politicians. In a word, France proved herself once more unfit for free institutions. At length, by an abrupt and mercilessly executed *coup d'état*, Louis-Napoleon, to the surprise of all Europe, overthrew the republican institutions—seized the supreme authority—and, from less to more, established himself as Emperor of France, under the style and title of Napoleon III. This latter event took place December 2d, 1852, and was to appearance a result of the freely expressed votes of the people. Napoleon, therefore, wielding imperial sway, and exercising in reality a despotic authority, acknowledges that his power is derived from the national will ; though how far this is not a political figment, it is unnecessary to say. True it is, that Louis-Napoleon has displayed an unlooked for energy and discretion in his new position ; and again thrown back, as France is, on the control of a single individual, we can now only anticipate her rise by a fresh course of trials to the enjoyment of constitutional forms of government !

THE END.



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